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The dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum

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THE DYNAMICS OF MOTHER TONGUE POLICY IN THE RWANDAN PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM.

SUBMITTED BY:

EUGENE NDABAGA

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (EdD)

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BATH

2004

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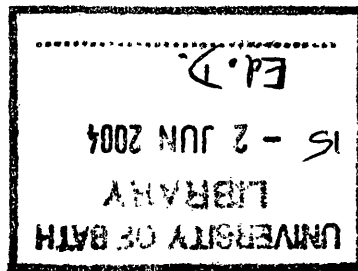
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Date: *08/03/04*

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‘ I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way that shall go: I will guide thee with mine eye:

Psalms 132: 8.

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this work is to find out the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. The word 'dynamics' in this research is used to refer to different ideas, attitudes and views held by politicians and teachers of different experiences, ages and gender on mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. It therefore refers to the influences on, and effects of the policy. It seeks to find out views of Rwandans and to contribute to this most contested debate in Rwanda of the use of Kinyarwanda as the medium of instruction in primary schools.

The work also recognises previous research concerned with mother tongue policy in different nations' curricula and views about this. To find out why mother tongue policy has been fluctuating in different nations and Rwanda in particular is another concern for this research. These issues are discussed in relation to Rwanda's Ministry of Education policy documents and wide discrepancies are clearly seen amongst interviewees and in the implementation of this policy. These discrepancies relate to different views held by Rwandans about their mother tongue as a medium of instruction in primary schools. There are pedagogical, political, social, economic, cultural, nationalistic, identity, and globalisation aspects.

The methodology is largely qualitative. The findings are mainly based on interviews conducted among Rwandan school primary teachers (policy implementers) and politicians (policy makers) and government documents elaborating government language policy. Recommendations concerning the way forward and further research into mother tongue issues are suggested.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. T=Teacher e.g. T1: 457=Teacher 1:line: 457.
2. P=politician/policy maker.e.g.P3: 692=Politician/policy maker 3: line: 692.
3. MoE=Ministry of Education.
4. FAWE=Forum for African Women Education.
5. MTEF=Medium Term Expenditure Frame Work.
6. NGO= Non governmental Organisation.
7. ICT=Information Communication Technology.
8. NEC=National Examination Council.
9. NCDC=National Curriculum Development Centre.
10. SSA=Subsharan African Countries.
11. UNESCO=United Nation Education, Science and Cultural Organisation.
12. BICS=Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills.
13. CALP= Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency.
14. L1=Mother tongue
15. L2=Second language

CHAPTER: 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Rwanda is a land locked country situated in central Africa-literally in the heart of Africa. Also known as ‘the land of a thousand hills’, Rwanda has five volcanoes, twenty-three lakes and numerous rivers, some forming the source of river Nile. The country lies 75 miles south of the equator in the tropic of Capricorn, 880 miles west of Indian Ocean and 1,250 miles east of the Atlantic Ocean. Rwanda borders Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, and Burundi to the south and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west. Rwanda has a total area of 26,338sq.km. It is mountainous with daily temperatures ranging from 14-18 degrees centigrade. The population numbers around 8 million with three ethnic groups: Hutu (80%), Tutsi (18%) and Twa (2%). All the three ethnic groups have exactly the same language called **Kinyarwanda** while all people from Rwanda are called **Banyarwanda** (MoE, 2001).

1.2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In this section, before I engage myself with the study of the dynamics of mother tongue policy (**different views, attitudes and ideas**) in the Rwandan primary school curriculum, I am going to briefly discuss: firstly, what history, research and international communities say about the mother tongue in education generally; secondly, the impact of colonial education on Rwanda and other countries; thirdly, different views among Rwandan teachers, who are the implementers of educational policy and politicians, who are the policy makers in Rwanda. Because my research is not using a hypothetical approach, the prevailing situations or views among the interviewees will be the foundation and premise upon which to assess, evaluate and learn what Rwandans make of their mother tongue in education.

One may wonder why there is a need to research the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. There is a need because it seems that there are many disagreements concerning this policy. I will base myself on Van Ek's book; 'The Threshold' (1984), that clearly defines the language need in terms of academic instructions.

According to Ozigi (1992) there are two qualities, which sharply distinguish human beings from the rest of creation: the capacity to use language, and self-awareness. All animals can communicate with one another, often in beautiful fully delicate and complicated ways, but communication is only one part of language and no animal has language in the proper sense of the term. Again no animal is aware of its own personal identity (p.16).

Ozigi maintains that, it is true that a fully-grown human being can live in complete isolation from his or her fellow human beings. There are countless instances of such hermits in history and modern times, living what appears to be happy and fruitful lives completely segregated from the rest of the human race. The point is that all these hermits are adults and achieved their full humanity before withdrawing into the wilderness. They think and talk to themselves in a human language, and it is clear that they could not survive their appalling lonely conditions if they did not have their essential human qualities to sustain them (p.17). By birth a child becomes a member of larger groups, which include its own family and other families. It becomes a member of a clan, tribe or ethnic group, of a group speaking the same language, and of a group, which shares a common culture.

According to Van Ek(1994), identification of language need is the compilation, treatment and exploitation for heuristic and didactic purposes, of certain information about an individual, group of individuals, institution, or society, in relation to the actual or intended use and teaching/learning of a particular language. In the didactics of language, Van EK (1994) maintains that, the concept of a need

is useful since it enables individuals and institutions to define their learning objectives more clearly.

Van (ibid) argues that, in order to become aware of the learning conditions of individuals or groups and to align these with their physical, intellectual and emotional possibilities, as well as to devise learning materials which will approach the real use of the language taught- thus, defining pedagogical objectives and selecting a necessary curriculum, must involve making a compromise (p55).

According to Rwandan Educational policy, Kinyarwanda as the mother tongue must be the medium of instruction in the first cycle of primary school (three years). Then it has to be taught as a subject throughout the remaining three years of primary. But, given many conflicting views concerning this policy among Rwandans, there is a need to find out the views held by Rwandans of different experiences, age and gender.

Bizimana (1998) reminds us that the issue of language in Rwanda is as vital as it is complex. The complexity is best demonstrated by its inextricable links with a society's cultural, identity, national, economic and political life. It also has inevitable historical embodiments. Thus any inquiry into contemporary Rwanda takes us back to the colonial past. In one way or the other, that past was one of conquest and domination, of suppression by alien rule facilitated by alien languages. More than a half of Rwanda's population is illiterate and vast numbers of children are forced to do all formal learning in foreign languages. Unesco (1977), however, states that every child should begin education in his or her mother tongue and should continue to be taught in that language as long as the language and supply of books and materials permit.

This foreignness of the language of instruction has been a major force in making education a culturally alienating process. According to Rubagumya (1994), 'whereas language is supposed to help in bringing education close to the learner, and therefore motivating learners to invest energy and time in the intrinsic excitement and self-regenerating dynamo of learning' (p.164), the lack of integration of

educational goals within a cultural context admitting African values has contributed to the present educational crisis in Rwanda, in which education is geared mainly to the reproduction of the ruling élite. That is also partly how education has made itself increasingly irrelevant to the real issues of the masses and to Rwanda's development.

By perpetuating cultural and linguistic dependence, the use of a foreign medium of instruction saps nationalist energy. Education through the medium of mother tongue, at least in primary schools, ensures that a child's educational development is rooted in his or her own cultural heritage. Okumbe (1998) argues that African history in general is already burdened with pervasive legacies and one of them is linguistic. An associated problem is self-denial, part of which is rooted in despising African languages as 'tribal and primitive' and nothing but 'vernaculars'. Rubagumya (1994) maintains that our language and culture are part of who we are. He argues: by keeping our mother tongue we preserve our culture and identity; neglect your language now and a generation from now you will not even find a person with a real African name (p.46).

Unesco (1978), too, stresses that there is nothing in the structure of any language which precludes it from becoming a vehicle of modern civilisation, that no language is inadequate to meet the needs of the child's first years in school, and that full self expression can best be attained in the mother tongue. However, it has to be recognised that Rwanda, like many other African countries, has some problems in vocabulary adequate to the needs of higher learning, especially in technological areas. But, once mother tongue is emphasised, at least in first the cycle of primary school, it can act as a bridge to strengthen further learning (Nsubuga, 1999).

Linguists and educational psychologists agree that the use of mother tongue as the language of instruction in the early years of education has many advantages, especially where the development of cognitive faculties is concerned. Conversely, it has been demonstrated that classroom use of a

language which is not that already spoken by the child results in cognitive and pedagogical difficulties (Bamgbose, 1996).

The issue of which language to teach in is not specific to Rwanda alone. Useful lessons can be learned from the experience of other countries, even though the context (and hence the degree of student motivation) differs. Both Great Britain and the United States have experienced a large influx of immigrants from all over the world. With immigration comes the issue of how best to achieve cultural and linguistic integration of the various ethnic groups into the social fabric. Initially, both Britain and the United States chose total English immersion as a means of facilitating the integration of immigrant children. However, by the 1980s, the flaws in the immersion theory became evident and the academic performance of immigrant children became a real concern (Hutchinson, 1997).

According to Cummins (1979), in the United States, the Centre for Minority Education and Research of the University of California carried out one of the most comprehensive longitudinal studies of bilingual education programmes. Students in 51 schools across five states were sampled. The study looked at three types of programmes; English Immersion, Early-Exit Bilingual and Late-Exit Bilingual. The study came to the following conclusions:

1. The student's mother tongue is the most effective language of instruction.
2. Rapid transition to classes taught only in the student's second language does not allow for satisfactory development of the student's linguistic and cognitive abilities.

Among the most conclusive studies carried out in Africa on the issue of mother tongue in education is the case of Nigeria's national policy on mother tongue literacy and the experimental project carried out in 1970 in 'Ife' region (Akinaso, 1993). The project's purpose was to test the use of mother tongue in education during the first six years of primary school. The students who were taught in Yoruba (the

mother tongue) throughout the six years of primary school were more skilled than their counterparts who were taught in English throughout the six years of primary school. According to the study, the advantages of teaching children in their mother tongue go beyond academic success to include cultural, emotional, cognitive, political, and socio-psychological benefits.

In Tanzania, research on the secondary cycle demonstrated the superiority of teaching in Swahili (the mother tongue) rather than English in terms of the development of cognitive functions. It is noted by Mluma (1978) that, when students were asked a question in English, the answer was often incoherent and irrelevant, showing lack of understanding of the question and/or inability to reply in English. When the same question was asked in Swahili, students gave a relevant and articulate answer.

Smith (1999) argues that the major agency for imposing positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture was colonial education. Indigenous languages, knowledge and culture were strongly marginalized. Colonial education was also used as a mechanism for creating new indigenous elites. Students were sent away either to boarding schools or to metropolitan centres in Europe, where they could acquire the tastes and privileges of metropolitan culture. This compelled a multitude of African young men and women to turn a deaf ear to the indigenous culture.

Fawe (1995) stresses the fact that there are long-standing traditions in Rwanda that emphasise the home as the place of learning cultural traditions and practical skills. But Colonial education killed off these cultural traditions with consequences for social integration. What used to characterise a Rwandan home does not have a place in modern education system. Today Rwandans think, dress and talk in Euro-centric style. Commenting on the relationship between education and culture, Fawe (ibid) makes this observation:

*Education is also about culture; it is the main instrument
for disseminating the accomplishments of human civilisation (p.87).*

With respect to this, Rwanda has been launching an intensive campaign against illiteracy, by advocating a widespread mass education that is based on ruralisation. On the contrary, however, today's education has turned out to be more modern-oriented and élite-dominated than rural-centred and community based. The recipients of this education have less, if any, attachment to the society. Many young Rwandans rather flood urban centres to seek white-collar jobs, since they lack practical skills that are applicable to rural life. As a solution, Nyerere (1968) suggests the following recommendation:

*“ It is in rural areas that people live and work, so, it is in the rural
areas that life must be improved”(p.345).*

But, history tells us that, since the Second World War, the world has increasingly become a “global village”, in which advances in science and technology have enhanced intercultural communication and exchanges in education, while, at the same time, posing the risk of “standardisation” of cultures and the domination of ‘peripheral’ cultures by hegemonic “central” ones. And within the African context, upon the achievement of independent nationhood, political leaders privileged the consolidation of the symbols of unity and oneness, within the centralised new nation-states, as well as integration within the worldwide economic and political processes, to the detriment of local identities and particularisms. From this perspective, education systems became increasingly selective and “modern-oriented”, while language policy in education became “Euro-centric” in nature. Indeed, as Coombs (1985) observes, the demand for languages of worldwide communication, such as English and French, has risen steadily during this period in developing countries.

Because of this, Mazrui (1997) states that, from late 1960's, to "decolonise" Africa's education systems has been the main dream. Within this movement, many national reform programmes have highlighted the strategic role of national languages, not only in the spreading of the benefits of education to all, as a human right, but also in the transmission of the right cultural knowledge and values, the basis for an endogenous and deep-rooted form of development.

In a developing country like Rwanda, increasingly dominated by the unilinear economic growth model, based on the principle of increased productivity, usually summarised in the concept of Gross National Product, the role of formal school system as producers of skilled manpower has been paramount.

Within these trends, and as it is signalled in the 1961 'All Africa Addis Ababa Plan', investments in education were expected to pay off absolutely in terms of industrial and agricultural output and expanded employment opportunities (Rubagumya, 1994).

However, problems emerged in their magnitude when the enlarged school system in Rwanda began to turn out masses of young men and women who were unemployable, not merely due to restrictive job markets, but also because of the nature of the knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired in the education system. Many young educated Rwandans had grown to become Euro-centric, Urban-oriented and élite-dominated. Criticising the post-independence education system in Tanzania, Nyerere (1968) remarked that it was basically an élitist education, designed to meet the needs and interests of a very small proportion of the population. He also noted that the system discouraged the integration of children in society, rather encouraging attitudes of cultural alienation, inequality and intellectual arrogance among the young generation.

According to Bizimana (1998), the steady maintenance of the official language of foreign origin as the principal medium of instruction has, to a great extent, negatively affected the efficiency of the education system in Rwanda. Heavy reliance on languages that are unfamiliar to the majority of children in their daily experience is one of the major factors in semi-literacy, school failure, and massive educational wastage. This situation puts at risk efforts deployed in Rwanda to provide a basic package of education to all.

Besides, the marginal function of the Rwandan mother tongue within the school system can only help to perpetuate the traditional rift between the school and the community, thus estranging the young generation from the cultural heritage and the productive processes of their own environment.

Education reforms and innovations attempted in Rwanda during the last twenty years or so have been guided by the principle of integration of the school into the community. The aim has been to make the school system more afro-centred, rural-oriented and serving the interests of the majority rather than the privileges of the minority. Thus, the mother tongue policy has been high on the agenda. Gitonga (1987) states that the African ministers of education assembled in Lagos in 1976 observed the following:

“These educational pressing requirements must be satisfied by the full and complete restorations of the national languages of instruction, whilst they ensure for the present and the future, the reconciliation that an African needs with his environment, they place the educational effort in a new dialectical relationship which ensures the dissemination of culture and knowledge in society as a whole (Gitonga, 1987, p. 201).

Concerning the role of national languages in relation to modern life and to the wider world, it was added that:

A policy of this type should lead to the revival of the national languages as vehicles of scientific and technical process, it would enable our societies, freed from all the sequels of foreign domination, to contribute in their own unique way to the fruitful dialogue upon which depends the full development of the world's civilisations (ibid, p.202).

From this perspective, countries with different levels of linguistic and cultural diversity and different colonial backgrounds such as Benin, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda, have built into their general education reform packages, innovative language policies aimed at strengthening the role of national languages in their school systems. In this respect, following a study he made on curriculum development in ten English speaking African countries, Hawes (1979) notes a clear trend: the increasing use of mother tongues or local languages as a medium of instruction, particularly in lower classes and “a consequent movement towards the development and materials production in those languages” (p.237).

On a different note, however, Howard et al. (1986) argue that English and French are used in different countries in business, diplomacy, media and scholarships; inability to understand these languages right from primary school retards Africans from economic competition. He argues that English and French have become prerequisites for acquiring science and technology. Thus, western education, scholarships, business and science and technology are rendered impossible without acquiring these languages.

According to Howard (ibid), for instance, sooner or later the entire world will speak English. It is the language of the Internet and international trade, and of the world richest and most powerful countries. All other languages will go the way of UK's other tongues-into history or small backward areas. Howard argues that, this is not a good thing but is inevitable. Nothing can stand against western consumerism, not even religion (p.82).

As part of this attempt to achieve better ways of communication in the education system itself and with the total environment, Rwandan policy makers have been trying to incorporate some cultural aspects of language into existing school curricula. Particular emphasis has been put on the learning and use of Kinyarwanda in primary schools, since it embodies the deep feelings and mental structures of the recipients of education. Kinyarwanda is also the rightful vehicle of Rwandan culture and authenticity, as well as the potential channel of science and technology. However, this policy has not been successful in Rwanda since Rwanda's economy is not strong enough to support this language policy. Thus,. foreign intervention has been inevitable and foreign languages have always taken priority in the allocation of funds.

1.3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is threefold. Firstly, it may add to our general understanding of the dynamics (different views and ideas, influences on, and effects of the policy) of mother tongue policy in Rwandan primary schools by distinguishing a country's specific reasons for either including or excluding mother tongue in the national curriculum. Secondly, identifying the theories and studies, which best explain mother tongue policy, may help to clarify the many various views and misunderstandings amongst Rwandans concerning mother tongue policy in primary schools by providing a degree of critical reflexivity on recent educational policy and practice. Thirdly, finding out and determining the degree of consensus on some views and the degree of disagreement on others amongst Rwandan teachers and politicians about mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum may help to evaluate the success and shape of any future language curriculum. Therefore, I hope that the complexity of the attitudes and rationales highlighted in the research will aid policy makers and practitioners in developing a greater understanding of mother tongue language policy in Rwanda.

1.4. EDUCATION IN RWANDA

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section I am going to look at education in pre-colonial Rwanda. I will also discuss how western education, entrusted mainly to the Catholic missionaries, was introduced in Rwanda during colonial times. I shall also examine post-colonial education in Rwanda up the period preceding the genocide in 1994 and a look at more recent educational developments since 1994.

1.4.2 PRE-COLONIAL EDUCATION IN RWANDA: *INFORMAL/INDIGENOUS EDUCATION*.

Pre-colonial education in Rwanda, as in many parts of Africa, was still traditional in nature by the time the Europeans arrived. The elders of the family and the community passed on knowledge and information to the young people through story telling, poems, proverbs, dance and songs. However, traditional education was not only limited to a general education but was also vocationally oriented towards traditional professions like herbalists and chieftaincy that had to be preserved for posterity. Therefore an apprenticeship system had been developed (Bigir'umwami, 1969).

In the early years, mothers played an important role in educating all children but later, as children grew up, boys and girls were taught different skills that were often gender stereotyped. For example, boys were taught by male elders' skills in hunting, cattle keeping and being warriors. At the same time girls were taught by elder women's skills that were supposed to be appropriate for females such as cooking, looking after children, cleaning and decorating the house, handicrafts, traditional dancing and local medicine.

Apart from learning informally, education was provided formally in Rwanda in places called **Amatorero** in the case of boys. **Amatorero**, for example, provided an opportunity for boys from the age of 10/12 to engage in various activities like sports, gymnastics, dances, songs; they also practised

poetry for eloquence (**kuvuganeza**) and were taught patriotism and bravery. Later the brilliant ones (who excelled) would be selected by the King (**Umwami**) as his special advisors. Here they were mainly concerned with training in military skills in order to protect the kingdom. The girls also joined **imbohero** where they learned skills to make baskets and mats. They were also taught to be patient, generous, and learned to keep secrets, plus any other values that befitted a future wife (Kagame, 1971).

We notice, therefore, that traditional education in Rwanda involved the developing of physical aptitudes among children through the use of games (jumping, racing, wrestling); it also emphasised character formation and good manners such as honesty, courage, solidarity, endurance, dignity, honour and trust (**ubupfura n'ubunyangamugayo**) were constantly encouraged and demanded in accordance with the developmental stage of the child. Among the banyarwanda, mastery of language was also important in education. Abstract thought was developed through riddles, proverbs and community discussions; young men in particular had to learn to use appropriate and diplomatic language and to be eloquent speakers since this would exalt one's status in society. Traditional education in Rwanda therefore centred on preparing the young people to become respectable and productive adults, who upheld morals and traditional values of society (Kagame, 1971).

1.4.3 COLONIAL EDUCATION IN RWANDA

The Roman Catholic Church first introduced formal education in Rwanda at the beginning of the 20th century. The main purpose of education at this time was to:

- train catechists to spread Catholicism to the local population.
- train auxiliaries to assist the colonial masters in local administration, agricultural production of cash crops for export and enforcement of labour. Thus labour was forced on peasants, resulting in the first exodus of the Rwandans into neighbouring Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya in the 1930s and 1940s.

During the colonial period the whole education system was entrusted to the catholic missionaries who enjoyed support from the colonial government to establish schools, using 'Funds for the Welfare of the Indigenous People' (Fonds du Bien-Etre Indigene). The White fathers and nuns established two types of schools:

- The rural schools in villages offered a two-year literacy education to the people in the villages. The local instructors for these schools were trained by the missionaries. They taught reading, writing, elementary arithmetic and hygiene.
- The central schools were built at the mission and managed by missionaries. These schools admitted the best candidates from the rural schools. They offered a five-year primary education to boys only, since girls were not allowed to go to school at that time (Bizimana, 1998).

Apart from formal basic education, missionaries established catechism schools run by local catechists whose responsibility was to prepare believers for baptism. By 1935, the Catholic missionaries had established 338 primary schools with 22,645 pupils and a working force of 553 teachers. At that time, there was one special secondary school, established in 1929 by Brothers of Charity in Butare, southern Rwanda. This school had a special mission to train auxiliaries who would assist the colonial government officials in local administration. In 1936 some seminaries were established, specialising in the study of religion, philosophy and languages. Graduates of these seminaries were later to become some of the political leaders of Rwanda after independence (Kahombo, 1980).

Later, in the 1950s, the colonial government established some secondary schools to train mainly primary school teachers. It was also in the 1950s that a few girls were first admitted to secondary schools to train as nurses and midwives. Before that time girls were trained in 'écoles menageres' established with the sole purpose of training good housewives. In these, girls were taught reading, writing, knitting, cookery, and hygiene and home management.

Thus colonial education through missionaries played an important role in developing basic education and vocational skills among Rwandans. However, it has been noted that the way formal education was introduced in Rwanda had some negative effects on the future development of the country. For example, education was used as early as the 1920s to divide Rwandans:

- 1.Children in schools were put in distinct categories of **Hutu (commons)** or **Tutsi (royals)**
- 2.Children of **Tutsi** chiefs were favoured and admitted to ‘Astrida Secondary School’ to prepare them for service in the colonial administration.

The colonialists used the divide and rule strategy by grooming the **Tutsi** for leadership and excluding the **Hutu** children, who mainly received education from the seminaries. This was a contributing factor to the upheavals in the late 1950s and subsequent conflicts in Rwanda. Colonial education also provided Rwandans with only the basic skills to occupy assistant positions to the colonialists. Rwandans were not given the chance to develop skills of leadership, decision-making and creativity, neither were they given professional and technical training in fields like medicine, agriculture, engineering and veterinary medicine which would have benefited the country. It has been noted that this type of training was later to entrench a culture of lack of self-confidence, dependence and passive submissiveness among Rwandans.

1.4.4 POST COLONIAL EDUCATION IN RWANDA.

After Rwanda’s independence in 1962, the government concentrated on expanding access at primary level. Primary schooling was declared free and obligatory, starting at age six. Opening a number of secondary schools also expanded secondary education and higher education was established by opening the National University of Rwanda in 1963. It has been noted that by 1975, school enrolment had increased from 250,000 pupils at the time of independence to 386,000 pupils at primary level

whereas at secondary school level, there were 64 schools with a student population of 11,227 students. The National University of Rwanda had six faculties, in medicine, agriculture, law, social sciences, natural sciences and arts. It had a student enrolment of 619 (Bizimana, 1998).

Other than expanded access, however, education in Rwanda remained discriminatory after independence, this time in favour of the **Hutu (commons)**, against the **Tutsi (royals)** and **Twa (pigmies)**. In 1978, for example, reforms to localise education were made but rather than correcting the errors of the colonial legacy, it was during this time that quotas were introduced for each ethnic group.

Thus students were no longer admitted to secondary schools on the basis of merit, but on the policy of “balance”. Article 60 of the law on public instruction stated that transition from primary to secondary school should respect the following criteria: national exam results; student’s progressive performance; regional, ethnic and sex balance (organic law, 1985). This was the policy of ‘social justice’ (**Iringaniza**) that left out many **Tutsi** children (Kashoki, 1990).

1.4.5 THE LANGUAGE CURRICULUM AFTER INDEPENDENCE

According to the national curriculum report (MoE, 2001) the structure and content of primary education in Rwanda developed in three phases after independence. These are **before** the school reform of 1978/79, **the school reform** of 1978/79, and **the readjustment** of school reform (1991). In this respect, each phase had a linguistic concern in its curriculum.

Before the school reform of 1978/79, that is phase one of the development of primary education, there are two important legal texts that can be retrieved: the law of 27 August 1966 on National Education in the Republic of Rwanda, and the Presidential Decree N⁰.175/03 of 28 April 1967, which set the general regulations of Rwanda’s education (MoE 2001).

Based on these two texts, the language of instruction from primary one to primary three was Kinyarwanda, while French became a medium of instruction from primary four to primary six. The former was taught as a subject from primary four to primary six, while the latter became a subject, and not a medium of instruction in primary one to four.

During the 1978/1979 reforms, the whole system of primary education was revised. The duration changed from six to eight years of primary and Kinyarwanda became a medium of instruction for all the subjects (apart from languages) throughout the eight years of primary school, while French became a subject to be taught from primary four to primary eight. This education reform faced a lot of problems such as lack of instructional materials, teachers who were not trained in the new fields in the syllabus, and lack of proper methods with which to evaluate the reform.

It was these, among other reasons, that prompted the revision of the reform in 1991. Here, primary education went back to six years. Immediately after the revision of the reform, war broke out in some parts of the country, which culminated in the 1994 genocide and massacres. Therefore, not much of what was revised had time to be implemented.

1.4.6 THE POST-1994 LANGUAGE CURRICULUM IN RWANDA

1994 is a critical year in the history of post-colonial Rwanda. This year is characterised by several events, which include the genocide, rehabilitation and resettlement of returnees, reconstruction of infrastructure and the building up of the broken economic, political and socio-cultural institutions. The last of these would not be possible, unless serious cultural revision in general and linguistic review in particular were pursued.

In the same year, the influx of returnees from diverse educational backgrounds and different media of instruction flooded the country, and created a special problem that required immediate attention. In this connection, workshops and seminars were organised one after another in a bid to find a viable and longlasting solution to the problem. In this context, a seminar was organised in November 1995 at Murambi-Gitarama (a southern district), to design general and specific objectives for each subject at each level of education. In this seminar, the participants had this to say in relation to languages:

The socio-cultural situation of the country requires the use of three
Languages: Kinyarwanda, French and English (MoE, 2001).

It is, therefore, within this seminar that English language was recommended to be included in the existing subjects in the primary schools in Rwanda, and had to be taught at all levels. This was aimed at helping children from English speaking countries like Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. However, the critics say that with the legalisation of English and French, the teaching of Kinyarwanda became marginalized in most primary schools of the country (Dusabe, 2001, Haguma, 2002).

Another workshop was held in October 1996 at Remera in Kigali (central urban division) that drafted a timetable for all primary schools in Rwanda. In this timetable, (Table 1) the time allocation for Kinyarwanda, especially in lower primary classes appears to be less than other languages and insufficient to give students a strong foundation in Kinyarwanda.

TABLE: 1: WEEKLY TIME ALLOCATION.**P= PRIMARY.**

SUBJECTS	P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6
KINYARWANDA	4	4	4	3	3	3
FRENCH	7	7	7	8	8	8
ENGLISH	7	7	7	8	8	8
MATHEMATICS	6	6	6	5	5	5
SCIENCE&ELEM.TECHNOLOGY	3	3	3	4	4	4
INTRODUCTION TO ARTS	2	2	2	1	1	1
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	2	2	1	1	1	1
RELIGION	1	1	1	1	1	1
ETHICS	1	1	1	1	1	1
CIVICS	1	1	1	2	2	2
HISTORY	-	-	-	1	1	1
GEOGRAPHY	-	-	-	1	1	1
HOMEWORK	-	-	-	1	1	1
MANUAL WORK	30 min	30 min	30 min	30 min	30 min	30 min
TOTAL	34½	34½	33½	37½	37½	37½

(Curriculum Report 2001).

Dusabe, (2001) argues that *‘given the less time allocated to Kinyarwanda in comparison to other languages in lower primary school, yet it is supposed to be the medium of instruction, one cannot fail to ask himself or herself; whether this would really signal the reiterated importance of Kinyarwanda both to teachers and pupils; whether all subjects in primary schools are taught in Kinyarwanda, as stipulated in the policy (p.96).’*

1.4.7 RECENT EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPEMTS IN RWANDA.

The Ministry of Education is in the process of revising education policies and strategies. The process is guided by “Vision 2020”(MoE, 2001) and conforms to the macro-policies of the poverty reduction structural programme, the decentralisation policy and the medium term expenditure framework. The proposed education policy also centres on the promotion of attitudes and values of human rights, tolerance, national unity and reconciliation and on creating the productive human capital necessary for individual and national development. The key sub-sector policies include education for all (EFA) by the year 2015, science and technology, especially the use of ICT in education and the promotion of girls’ education. There are five pillars upon which this revised sector policy is built:

- The Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) will be used as a tool for planning and management of the system in the short and medium term, with close monitoring and regular evaluation.
- The importance of participation of different partners is acknowledged: government, parents, communities, donors, the private sector, NGOs and civil society. Government will co-ordinate regular consultations and negotiations, and horizontal co-ordination will be established between different actors. There will also be a stronger vertical link between central government, local government and grass root groups.
- There is urgent need to balance access, quality and relevance with special emphasis on curriculum, which is output-oriented, and offering the skills and values necessary for development.
- There shall be gender consideration especially in rural areas.
- The use of ICT in education shall be considered as the heart of the entire education system.

(Education Sector Policy 2002).

All in all, access to higher education in Rwanda has increased compared to before 1994. The University of Rwanda for instance that was originally built with a teaching capacity of 2400 students, had an intake in 1998 of about 6000 students. In the last few years, the government established three new institutions of higher learning: Kigali Institute of Health (KHI), Kigali Institute of Education, and Kigali Institute of Science and Technology. Also the national University of Rwanda was rehabilitated but higher education enrolment in Rwanda, at less than 1%, is still very low compared to other Sub Saharan African countries (SSA) at 2 %. Compared also to other Sub Saharan African countries with more than 30% of girls attending tertiary education e.g. in Uganda, Kenya and Lesotho, there is a

relatively lower participation of girls at tertiary level 26 %, particularly in science, technology and related fields in Rwanda (MoE, 2001).

Apart from expanded access to education, other institutions for improved provision have been set up: National Examinations Council (NEC), the Inspectorate of Education, and the National Curriculum Development Council (NCDC). These three were restructured from **Bureau Pédagogic** that existed before 1994: an office that combined the roles of a curriculum development centre, assessment and examination and teacher training, and was widely thought to be inefficient in carrying out each of these roles. Despite the achievements made, there are still major challenges, such as a large number of children are out of school due to problems of poverty and the existence of orphans. Low transition from primary to secondary schools, at 37% and access to secondary school and tertiary level is still limited to a few students favoured by the exam-oriented system. Other problems that continue to afflict the system are a high failure and dropout rate at primary and secondary level, and poor quality education due to lack of facilities and shortage of qualified teachers among others. There is a need, therefore, for a concerted effort to provide solutions to Rwanda's Education system.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.INTRODUCTION.

This chapter brings to surface various theories and studies conducted on mother tongue curriculum in many parts of the world. The relevant views and opinions gathered from different educational theorists will help me to give a theoretical foundation to my study of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. I have divided this chapter into five areas: firstly, the concept of education; secondly, the concept of curriculum; thirdly, mother tongue from a cognitive perspective; fourthly, mother tongue from a cultural perspective, identity and nationalism, and fifthly, mother tongue from a political and power perspective. I am going to look at each of these aspects in detail, since the language used as a medium of instruction affects and is affected by each of these aspects. However, since mother tongue and education are not only about literacy but also about other social issues concerning development and how to make the right policy to achieve this, I will briefly discuss the link between economic development and globalisation and lastly the process of policy making.

For centuries, many comparative educationists have been faced with a problem of universalism and particularism in education. While Unesco (1977) highlights the spatial and temporal circumstances that influence education systems, Johnson et al. (1985) emphasise respectively “local realities” and “the living spirit of nations” which determine and explain education policies and their outcomes in a variety of cultural contexts. However, as a part of culture, the language question has persistently remained a controversial issue on the continent of Africa and Rwanda in particular. The core point remains that the language chosen, as the medium of instruction should be relevant to the learning requirements of a changing world.

Obanya (1980) notes that it has been always felt by African Educationists that the African child’s major learning problem is linguistic. Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in his

or her immediate environment, a language that neither the learner nor the teacher understands and uses well enough.

According to Corson (1993), Education's legitimate influence on language is clear: *'it seeks to capitalise on the central role of language in learning, in understanding and in knowing. While language development is the major aim of schooling, language is also the most accessible pedagogy and form of evaluation available to schools. But more subtle and greater influence that education has on languages is its power to promote and disseminate certain ideas about the appropriateness of language, whether relating to standard codes, majority or minority language, gender speech styles, and functions, high status forms and structures etc. This pervasive influence is institutionalised in education; it comes from the power that social institutions like education have to do things, which individual human beings could never do, (ibid. p.63)'*

2.2.THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION.

Nsubuga (1999) defines education as the process that helps an individual to adjust to his environment, thus making him or her a useful, acceptable and productive member of society. Here, education is equated to socialization, where the elders teach the young what is expected of them, in their particular society. Similarly, the Forum for African Women's Education (FAWE) (1995) maintains that education aims at making individuals fit into their societies by teaching them the established norms, values, ideas and practices that the society has put in place. Thus, the young generation should learn about the past of their ancestors, the present, and hence expect proper directions for the future. In this context, learners are constantly being made to internalise society's norms and values, so that they may function fully in that particular society. Thus, the needs and interests of the society should be reflected in the type of education provided for the young.

In this connection, according to Unesco (1978), education becomes more than mere schooling or being learned. While schooling is largely institutionalised, education takes place anywhere, even beyond the boundaries of the school. For Nsubuga, (1999) *'schooling has an end, but education has no end, (p.102'*. He maintains that *'in the process of attaining a reasonable attitude to hard work, discipline and other skills in reading, writing and arithmetic, tireless efforts should be placed in the designing of an education system that facilitates the development of all the above aspects' (p.159).*

Thus, education is a broad process that leads mankind to intellectual enlightenment, emotional maturity, and ethical (moral) awareness. As per Unesco (1978) this definition addresses a human being's cognitive and affective domains. So, education is expected to prepare the human being intellectually, as well as morally and emotionally, in order to affect the aforementioned socialization process.

The World Bank review (1994) emphasises that basic education is very important in all societies. This is because it provides essential skills, knowledge, attitudes and models of behaviour to function effectively in the society. This also leads to basic competencies in such general areas as verbal, computational, and problem-solving skills, which can be used in a wide range of work-settings and can enable people to acquire job specific skills and knowledge in the place of work.

However, the crucial question is not whether and how much basic education is necessary, but how to maximise its beneficial consequences by creating the right conditions in society, and by adjusting it to the needs of the beneficiaries. Basic education, including literacy, helps to make mass communications more effective. The development of basic education (meaning primary education and literacy) creates the conditions for effective use of communications media to reach people who have no access to useful information. It makes people receptive to new information and ideas (Bishop, 1998).

Forum for African Women's Education (1995) states that, without education, opportunities for improving earnings, using and preserving resources become decreased. There is also retardation in the capacity to tackle the challenges posed by poverty, and a variety of environmental risks. The programme of poverty alleviation needs to combine economic measures with basic education components. Indeed, various poverty alleviation programmes can be more effective if a basic education component is part of these initiatives. The breaking of the vicious circle of poverty, low demand for participation in education, low skills, putting emphasis on basic education for the poor should be any country's priority (Cowan 1965).

According to Mbiti (1989), at almost every point in the modernisation process, education becomes a critical factor. Without it, most African countries would not manage to venture into the modern technological world. Each phase of economic planning demands not only capital, but also skilled manpower, which can only be drawn from the reservoir of the educated population. For millions of Africans, education is the key that will open the door to a better life, and the higher living standards they were promised, as the reward of the struggle for national liberation. No government in Africa could dare, even if it were so inclined, to deny the popular demand for expansion of the educational system.

For Wiles et al. (1989) Education should be conceived as a guided recapitulation of the process of inquiry which gives rise to the fruitful bodies of organized knowledge comprising the established disciplines. From this perspective, education puts a strong emphasis on formal learning in the school system.

Borg et al. (1997) maintain that education is the direct means by which a society seeks to shape its own destiny and transform itself from what it knows itself to be, to what it would hope to become. In line with this, Haguma (2002) argues that *'after Rwandans have realised the dangers of colonial legacy among the youth, they are now trying to instil their cultural values into young people through education. But at the same time keep in touch with the modern world so as not to retard their development'* (p.23). This form of education will therefore be determined by the deepest feelings of people, about themselves and about their future. Nyerere (1968) observes that education is like a mountain, the higher you climb, the further you can see (p.79).

Nyerere therefore recommends lifelong learning to acquire more and more knowledge, which would keep the citizens able to render appropriate services towards their country's social, political and economic development. He called upon the presidents, vice chancellors, and rectors of various universities gathered at Arusha, to encourage and inculcate such an education that would enable their students to climb higher, and also be useful servants to their societies. This would enable African youngsters to meet the challenges of a modern world.

Thus, for Unesco (1977) education has been assigned the highest and most ambitious task possible: to prepare and help every man and woman to live in harmony with the environment and with other people, and to advance their society along the road to greater justice and happiness. According to Okumbe (1998) education is broad based, and in order to accomplish its mission in society, its area of operation must embrace the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres of life. This is why Mutua (1992) reminds us that, modernization is difficult if it is not built on a firm education system that is based on the cultural value of a given social setting. Indeed, the school where formal education is conducted is the representative of the society for moulding the pupil, transmitting cultural heritage,

and inculcating values, ideas, and models of behaviour, on which both the continuity and evolution of humanity depend. Education that suppresses cultural values will not facilitate sound modernization.

2.3. THE CONCEPT OF CURRICULUM.

The concept of curriculum has been a very much-contested theme of many researchers in education for many centuries. For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the curriculum was regarded as a static and fixed entity, even though it was probably slowly changing all the time. Open discussions about changing the curriculum have been comparatively rare until recent times.

According to Wiles et al. (1989), Curriculum as a special area of study within education emerged from the need to arrange, organize, and translate visions and aspirations of a nation into educational programmes of study. Although the first formal book in the area of curriculum was not produced until 1918, serious study of options in education was well under way in the 19th century.

Ellis et al. (1988) attempted to define the concept of curriculum. The term curriculum is adopted from a Latin word ‘**Currere**’, which means a “ **race course**” or ‘**track**’ in English. This course of the race eventually became a “**course of study**”. Thus, the traditional definition of curriculum is a course of study or training that leads to a product or education.

For Unesco (1977), curriculum is an educational project defining: (i) the aims, goals and objectives of an educational action (ii) the ways, means and activities employed to achieve these goals (iii) the methods and instruments required to evaluate the success of the action. In other words, curriculum is in simple terms concerned with the designing, implementation and evaluation of an educational action.

Choate (1992) refers to curriculum as the content or actual subjects and specific subject matter taught as well as the process by which the content is expected (p.169). This definition puts emphasis on a particular subject, how much of it is taught, and how it is taught.

Poteet (1992) states that curriculum goes beyond the borders of the classroom. He looks at curriculum as the set of courses and instructional experiences offered to students. According to him, learning could be inside or outside the classroom. It also embraces both the hidden curriculum and extra curricular activities.

Nsubuga (1999) emphasises the learner's experience and the control of the school. His definition is therefore closely linked with two definitions put forward by Wiles et.al. (1989). Both agree that curriculum is now generally considered to be all of the experiences that learners have under the auspices of the school and that the curriculum is all of the learning of students which is planned and directed by the school to attain its educational goals (p.148).

Unesco (1977) further observes that curriculum should be a set of experiences which those being educated acquire by participation in the actions prescribed by the system and foreseen and generated co-operatively by the educational community to contribute to personal and social development at a concrete historical moment. In its broadest sense, curriculum involves all personal experiences acquired in different socio-cultural contexts and situations. Curriculum is also viewed as a plan for providing sets of learning opportunities to achieve broad goals and related specific objectives for an identifiable population served by a single school centre (p.57).

In this case, every school reserves the ability to design its own school curriculum. Thus, curriculum becomes a planned and guided learning experience and set of intended outcomes, formulated through systematic reconstruction of knowledge and experience, under the auspices of the school, for the learner's continuous growth in personal-social competence. Hence, curriculum is not only concerned with what students do in the learning situation, but also with what they learn as a consequence of what they do. It is very much concerned with results.

In another observation, curriculum operates in institutions, and these institutions are attributed to a particular society. After analysing the kind of services a given curriculum renders to the society, Nsubuga (1999) makes the following conclusion. Curriculum is an instrument by which the schools seek to translate the society's hopes for education into concrete reality (p.241). In this respect, the society's hopes for education will refer to things like values, customs, norms and beliefs. Nsubuga emphasises that such views should be reflected in the existing curriculum of the society. Similarly, Ellis et al. (1988) identify the curriculum as a mirror that reflects a society's dreams for its next generation (p.110).

In short, this means that a society is able to influence what its next generation will be, in terms of knowledge acquired and social structure. A change in the body of knowledge will lead to a corresponding change in the level of development, which will also necessitate a change in the social structuring of the society.

2.4. MOTHER TONGUE FROM A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE.

To clearly comprehend the connection between mother tongue and cognitive capacity, let us look at how Duquette et al. (1991), analyse language in terms of communication and formulation of profound questions. For Duquette, language appears to be species-specific. In fact, many believe that words are what make the anthropoid human. Duquette goes on to say that this may explain the Biblical statement: 'in the beginning was the Word' (p.110). Duquette argues that the acquisition of a language provides more than an expressive medium for communication, its words exert a powerful influence throughout our entire lives, mediating all that we think, say and do (p.110).

Hawes (1979) too, in his research in the United States, states that the increasing use of mother tongues, particularly in the junior classes improved the development of students' interest in studies. This is

why, according to Mbiti (1989), countries with levels of linguistic and cultural diversity and different colonial backgrounds such as Tanzania built into their general education reform packages innovative language policies aimed at strengthening the role of the national language in schools.

According to a World Bank review (1994), the most effective language of instruction is the child's native language or the mother tongue. By using the mother tongue and the concepts that are familiar to the children's experiences, their school achievement would be enhanced and using the mother tongue and the concepts that are familiar to the children's experience would reduce wastage.

Harris (1986) reveals that children all over the world acquire language skills at about the same age and in about the same way, regardless of their culture or native tongue. This however does not rule out the contribution of mother tongue to the learning of other languages. This is because the mother tongue is expected to be the language of family members. Bamgbose (1994) states that much of what children know about their native language, they learn by observing and imitating the speech around them. Thus, children can be expected to learn their native language and to speak well or poorly based on the quality of the imitative model.

A good foundation in the native language will thus facilitate the smooth learning of other subsequent languages. Carroll (1993) reminds us that learning to use a word in a meaningful way, that is, using it in such a way that it will be consistently socially reinforced, implies that the child has acquired the concept that underlies the linguistic response. By means of grammatical construction, one can learn, remember, and manipulate more complex concepts. It seems obvious that, if a child has already learned a concept verbally in the course of everyday development, he or she would be more likely to perform successfully in any problem situation where this concept is critical, even though it does not figure explicitly.

Though many kinds of thinking are possible without language, language plays a big role in thinking. It facilitates thinking, allowing it to be more complex, efficient, and accurate. Carroll (ibid) poses a question: ‘does the structure of the language we happen to speak affect our perceptions of the world and our dealings with it in any way that would be different if we happen to speak another language?’ Edwards (1994) argues that the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. Whorf (1956) too, advances the view that language patterns are centrally important in structuring these distinct worlds.

The concepts symbolised by the forms, form classes, and constructions of any one language do not always have exact counterparts in other languages. Carroll (1993) confirms that anybody who has tried to make a really faithful translation from one language to another becomes painfully aware of these differences. If this were so, it would appear to follow that the thinking processes of the speakers of one language are not the same as the thinking process of the speakers of any other language. Indeed, it would appear that a bilingual using one language thinks differently from the way he or she thinks in his or her other language.

Linguistic relativity asserts that thought is relative to the language in which it is conducted. This is also called linguistic **weltanschauung hypothesis** because it is asserted that a particular language implies a unique world view or perception of reality. German philosophers held this idea in the nineteenth century, for example claiming that Aristotle’s logic would have been different if he had been of another nationality (Foucault, 1977).

Carroll (1964) states that a language requires a child to pay attention to the shapes, forms, and materials of things that make him or her more likely to guide his or her behaviour on the basis of his or her environment. The child normally grows up in a social environment in which a particular language

is in use. This language exhibits a relationship to the internal processes of these language users in their own transactions with their environment.

Language symbols may figure prominently in thinking and often determine its direction. The concepts named by language symbols, that is verbal mediating processes, are tools of thought for they represent organisations of internal processes that are potentially critical in determining whether a given sequence of thought will eventuate in successful or rewarded overt response (Carroll, 1964). The possession of particular concepts acquired through past experience is a major factor in the solution of problems or the performance of tasks. For example, the concept of **error** amongst Banyarwanda in Rwanda goes beyond the usual interpretation of an error. For Banyarwanda **error** implies **incest** since it is one of the worst **taboos** amongst Banyarwanda that can cause misfortune in the whole clan. Indeed, the teaching of such concepts is one of the major functions of education. Therefore, one's concept of any class of stimuli includes an assessment of its average reward value either to oneself or to the society with which one identifies.

According to Edwards (1994), schools have attempted to refine and develop communicative skills with the language or languages of their constituencies. Language facilitates thinking, allowing it to be more complex, efficient, and accurate. It may in some cases inhibit or misguide thinking; a structure of a particular language may channel thinking and thus cause the users of that language to think either more or less efficiently and accurately than they would if they were to use another language in any given situation (p.39).

Benjamin Whorf (1956), in support of the importance of mother tongue, strongly wrote that: *'the background to linguistic system (in other words the grammar) is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas. But rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity for his or her analysis of impressions for his or her synthesis of his or her mental stock*

in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar and differs, from slightly to greatly, as between different grammars. We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. We cut nature up, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significance as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement that holds through our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language (Pp.200-212).

According to Mahrata (1998) students who learnt to read in their mother tongue first, learn to read a second language easily and more quickly than those who learn to read in a second language first. In a sense, it may seem obvious that words with special, culture-specific meanings reflect and pass on not only living characteristics of a given society but also ways of thinking. Culture-specific words are conceptual tools that reflect a society's past experience of doing and thinking about things in certain ways; and they help to perpetuate these ways.

Meaningful educational development can, in practice, only occur in a language, which learners know well. This has been stated by various socio-linguists such as Kashoki (1990), Bamgbose (1994), Rubagumya (1994), Pattanayak (1991) and Prah (1995) from developing countries. Their work shows quite clearly that, in line with the massive Nigerian report on mother tongue research on academic performance in primary schools, development of pupils' cognitive skills occur best in a language which learners know very well, usually termed as mother tongue. That pupils perform poorly if a language is used as a language of learning and teaching is not well known. Macdonald's (1987) and Sure's (1997) studies on language in education confirm this too. Proficiency in the second language is partially a function of first-language proficiency (Appel, 1988).

This section can be summed up by Wierzbicka (1992) who argues that, more often than not, the grip of people's native language on their thinking habits is so strong that they are no more aware of the conventions to which they are party than they are of the air they breathe. And when others try to draw

their attention to these conventions, they may even go on with a seemingly unshakeable self-assurance to deny their existence.

2.5. MOTHER TONGUE FROM A CULTURAL, IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM PERSPECTIVE.

According to Bizimana (1998), in terms of linguistic influence, one cannot treat or talk of culture, identity and nationalism as different entities because they always overlap due to their equal and inseparable importance in human social development. In Bizimana's view, these three aspects are distinct but not separate (p.123). For instance culturally, with **Uhuru (freedom)** Africans aspired to see the end of cultural alienation. They understood **uhuru** as being free to reinstate their cultural values and practices, and the redevelopment of their creative artistic works, which had been condemned by the missionaries in the name of God - hence the need to maintain their identity as Africans. African masses expected an end to regarding their songs, dances, and drama as evil. They also expected a restoration of respect to their marriage customs and practices, family ties and relationships, coupled with community collective spirit - hence nationalism.

In view of this, Kahombo (1980) states that, the mother tongue appears to be playing an increasingly important role in social control and stratification. It is one element in social reproduction, whether this stratification occurs on the basis of class, gender, age, culture, ethnicity or language of an individual group. Language, culture, identity and nationalistic feelings are related phenomena and they tend to influence each other to one degree or another. Language may not determine the worldview or people's nationalistic feelings as such, but it serves as an indicator of certain aspects of their culture and identity.

It should be kept in mind that every culture, each with its own set of customs, no matter how irrational, is related directly or indirectly, to the inexorable logic of survival. In other words, it leads to the production and reproduction of material life and the survival of, if not the whole human race, then, at

least the race or species one belongs to. In the area of culture, Reheema (1999) indicates that the African of today has lost a sense of direction. Due to colonial and neo-colonial mentality, an African has lost the core of moral, ethical, and aesthetic values that could serve as his or her lodestar to life. She points out that although culture is dynamic (and it is indeed good to borrow few cultural values from another culture to enrich yours), the important point about cultural values is that they give direction to life. Thus, when a person struggles to seek after the values of his culture, the individual gives meaning to his or her life.

The cause of this loss of culture is that, there is a new culture that is sweeping throughout the world, which has been termed as a culture *of progress*. It has been spread across the world through the colonialists' weapons of subjugation and domination. Thus, the global culture has trampled over the indigenous cultures of local communities. The culture of globalisation has influence not only on western societies, but also on local societies. It therefore forces upon our societies, and upon intellectuals in particular, a new reflexivity about the authenticity of cultures, their social status and the nature of cultural hierarchy.

Bourdieu (1977) maintains that: *'each person is schooled in a language both inside and outside schooling. The factor that creates unequal esteem for different types of linguistic capital-their academic market value is in the distance between the practical mastery of language that is transmitted by the home and the community, and the symbolic mastery that is demanded by the school. Along with obvious properties of language, like its syntax, sounds, and vocabulary, humans acquire through socialisation certain attitudes towards words and their use, which provide criteria for judgements about which styles and forms of expression seem superior to others (p.129)'*.

When culture, identity and language are either completely or substantially fused, what we get is linguistic nationalism, with its focus on pride in one's language. But one may have to distinguish

between direct linguistic nationalism and derivative linguistic nationalism. Direct linguistic nationalism is when the central focus is the issue of language in relation to identity, as in the case of separatism in Quebec-Canada. Derivative linguistic nationalism, on the other hand, is when pride in language is part of a wider cultural pride. It is arguable that the French are primarily cultural nationalists and their linguistic nationalism is part of the cultural patriotism, which covers pride in French literature, French cuisine, and French civilisation. Arabs too are great linguistic nationalists in the derivative sense.

Most of African nations including Rwanda, their first concern is direct linguistic nationalism that seeks to create a clear demarcation of the present African nations from the colonised African nations. But eventually, the derivative aspect usually comes in (Mazrui, 1997). However, one must acknowledge that the constructed character of nationalism could make it notoriously susceptible to being used for an individual's political ends, particularly bad ones such as the nationalism advocated by the Hutu revolution in Rwanda in 1959 that forced another section of the society into exile.

Herder (1969) stresses that man was innately endowed with the capacity for reason and speech. These speech communities only survive as discrete entities as long as they preserve their language as a collective inheritance. A nation's self-respect hinges upon its ability and willingness to defend itself, but its very existence is inconceivable without its own language.

Herder's writings are important because he proceeds from a discussion of language origins to a philosophy of linguistic nationalism, in which ancestral language and national continuity are intertwined: *'What a treasure language is when kinship groups grow together into tribes and nations. Even the smallest of nations cherishes in and through its language the history, the poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers. The language is its collective treasure' (Herder, 1964)*. Herder did not claim that, **ours** is the best, but simply that **ours** is **ours**. He felt that to brag about one's

language is the stupidest form of boastfulness (ibid. p.157) and that aggressive nationalism is detestable.

Before the Arabs and European colonists came to Africa, local languages, ethnic cultures and traditional education were highly respected by Africans. Indigenous education put a strong emphasis on oratory and decency of speech. It is through this that the perpetuation of cultural heritage, notably language, laws and values were made possible. Africans were comfortable with their local languages, but when colonialists came, they decided to make Africans speak and think in a language that was new and foreign to them (Bizimana, 1998). Bizimana observes that; colonialists imagined teaching African languages as a way of consolidating African cultural nationalism, something the colonial government hated. After a reasonable period of mobilisation, Africans gained interest in the white man's language so that they could acquire prestigious employment opportunities, rather than continuing to learn local languages, which they knew. What emerges here is that traditional education was rooted in Africa long before foreigners arrived. The only new dimensions to the rich traditional African education were reading and writing skills. Furthermore, the traditional curriculum had clear goals of teaching ethnic religions, beliefs, ethics, history and logic.

Ornstein and Levine (1987) observe that the study of ancient Greek civilisation provides valuable lessons on citizenship and civic education that illuminate the role of education in shaping good citizens. For the Greeks, acculturation-immersion and participation in the total culture was more important than formal schooling. Through acculturation, the Greek youth became a citizen of his or her society. The Greek civilisation and later the Graeco-Roman education system laid a strong foundation upon which our modern education is built. Even today, education leads to the acquisition of concepts and knowledge (cognitive), the clarification of values and transmission of a capacity for political judgement (evaluative) and the teaching of the capacity and will to become politically engaged (cognitive/action orientation) (Byram, 1993,p.178). Lynch (1994) maintains that in any

education, the social and cultural aspects must be the priorities of any education system. Any citizen, Lynch goes on, should be taught within the following framework:

1. Three levels of personal consciousness and social participation: *local, national, and international*.
2. Four domains: *social, cultural, environmental and economic*.
3. Three objectives: *cognitive, affective, and conative*.
4. Two international dimensions: *human rights, social responsibilities*.

(*ibid*, pp.2-3).

In his opening address to the conference of Presidents, Vice Chancellors, and Rectors of African Universities in Arusha Tanzania, Mkapa (2002), commented on the question of African heritage in the following words: *'it troubles me tremendously that African scholars have to go to Europe, America and else where to learn in depth about Africa. After more than forty years of independence, the best centres of African studies remain outside our continent-why? Are we then surprised that Europe holds on a large and invaluable collection of African Art and Historical documents'* (*ibid*, p.8).

He, therefore, goes ahead to suggest a solution by saying that: *'let us have more interest and pride in our ancestry, our heritage, our culture, and our way of life'* (p.85). In line with this, Nyerere (1968) gives a credit to his country for having Africanised its education system. He makes the following remarks: *'our children are once again learning our national songs and dances; our national language has been given the importance in our curriculum, which it needs and deserves'* (p.149).

Nyerere is the only African leader recognised for having united his country (**Tanzania**) under a rural-based economy, with **Kiswahili** as a national language and a medium of instruction at lower levels of schooling. This is unique in Africa; no wonder Tanzania is the only sub-Saharan country that is untouched by ravages of war and divisions.

What has been under discussion here is essentially the formation of educational policy that will affect individual and national identity. Language is often seen as a central and required component of identity. The fact is that when a language dies, other features of the society tend to follow. Thus Rokkan et al. (1982) observe that language loss leads to further cultural 'erosion'. They argue that mother tongue loss weakens culture and may lead to intergenerational stress and loss of identity.

2.6.MOTHER TONGUE FROM A POLITICAL AND POWER PERSPECTIVE

Lakoff (1990) states that, the world that is also social life and is inherently political, and that any attempt to describe it is a political act. Thus language gains a political dimension-which is not always free of restrictions. According to Lakoff (ibid), 'political' also has something to do with power: '*who has got it, how it operates; in a word, who has allowed to do what to whom, who gets what from whom, who gets away with it and how*' (p.121). Summing up this idea, one would say that language is inherently political, and through its use the individual defines his or her position in society.

In order to advance the issue of power in the society, it is indispensable to take into account not only the distinction between State power and State apparatus, but also another reality, which is clearly on the side of the (repressive) State apparatus, but must not be confused with it (Althusser, 1971). Althusser (ibid) calls this '*ideological State apparatuses*' (ISAs) such as: churches, education, family, legal system, political system, trade unions and the press. According to Althusser, the State Apparatus contains: the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons etc which constitute what Althusser calls Repressive State Apparatus. This is where the power of language comes in since according to Althusser, State Apparatus in question 'functions by violence' since repression for instance administrative repression, may take non-physical forms but use their power of language to suppress its subordinates.

In common usage and in scholarly writings, according to Alex Kagame (1971), the concepts of power and politics are so closely linked that they may even be used sometimes as synonyms. Etymologically, politics is associated with the state or government (being derived from the Greek, *polis*). For power, Kagame goes on to say, is the capacity of some one to produce effects on others intentionally through: a contractual acceptance of another as competent to wield power (authority), manipulation (concealed power), persuasion (argumentation) and force (physical).

At another level, language is seen as an empowering force'. However, the terms in which such a slippery and appealing concept as 'empowerment' might be problematised are many and varied. With the rise of the concept as part of wider social developments associated with New Right discourses for the re-structuring of society and the economy, the language of 'empowerment' has attracted a number of discussions and critiques (see Ellsworth, 1989; Heelas and Morris, 1992; Hodgkinson, 1994; Avis, 1996). Troyna (1994) for instance, locates the use of the term 'empowerment' in New Right' discourse as an example of appropriation of the emancipatory ideals of the left for contradictory purposes. Arguably, the reasons for this critical attention are linked with the strategic political importance of vocabularies of power in controlling actors' definitions and orientations towards the power relations, which they inhibit. Troyna (ibid) maintains that, while hegemonic control depends upon winning contested struggles over meanings in many areas, possibly the most critical site to target is the understanding the power itself. The point has been vividly demonstrated by the feminist movement, which, in its struggle to advance the cause of women, focused particularly on re-casting everyday taken-for-granted understandings of the balance of power between men and women to reflect theories of female oppression (p.34).

With these definitions, one sees how politics is closely related to power since governments, particularly in Africa, usually use their departments such as curriculum, examination and inspectorate centres as sources of power through education to exert the government influence usually contrary to the interests of the citizens in both social and academic life. In the similar manner, Edelman (1984) ascertains that language contains, communicates and perpetuates the ideologies of those in power. According to Foucault, (1977), it is this very influence, usually demonstrated by governments, that produces incongruent and often conflicting definitions of realities in the society.

If these claims and definitions hold any truth, then there is a basis for bringing language, politics and power together within this research. Language is a device of power, which an individual can use for him or herself, and it can be used as a power against him or her through restriction and suppression.

Kramarae et al. (1984) state that, because language is one of the sources of power, those with it can use it skilfully and deceptively so that we - the rest of us - will be helpless against them and their stratagem. Among these could be economic persuaders, advertisers, salesmen, and political persuaders. Kramarae (ibid) concludes that, whether using the language legitimately or illegitimately, one plays the linguistic game according to hidden agendas, the unsaid being far more potent than the said. Furthermore, power drives power: those who already have it, parlay it into authority, and their superior status enhances the credibility of their message, which in turn enhances their power over us.

It is because of this political dimension that mother tongue policy in most post-colonial African countries has always been complex to establish since independence. The reason for this is what Phillipson (1992) calls 'linguicism and linguistic imperialism' the concepts that serve to clarify the nature of linguistic dominance and linguistic injustice. 'Linguicism' is defined, by analogy with racism and 'ethnicism' as ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and

reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language.

Several accepted ideas about mother tongue held on the continent have always failed to be implemented in most countries apart from Tanzania, which managed to unite all Tanzanians under Kiswahili as a national language and a medium of instruction in schools. According to Kalembe (1980), there is abundant evidence of 'linguicism' in colonial and post-colonial contexts working in favour of the European languages and against local languages. Kalembe ascertains that overwhelmingly resources are always allocated to European languages despite many reiterations in official reports of the need to develop local languages.

Whilst imperialism is often thought of as a system, which drew everything back into the centre, Ngugi Wa Thiong (1986) argues that it was also a system, which distributed material and ideas outwards. Ngugi uses a notion of **positional superiority** to conceptualise the ways in which knowledge and culture were as much part of imperialism as raw materials and military strength. It is through our improved knowledge, Ngugi maintains, that indigenous people often research for the fragments of **ourselves** that were taken, catalogued, studied and stored. Ngugi draws attention to the influence of politics on mother tongue policy in Africa, and to what extent mother tongue has been distorted through the education of the colonial élite and indigenous or native intellectuals.

Edelman (1984) argues that professionals in schools commonly engage in rationalisation, distortion, and repression in their language activities and even see these practices as part of their professional duties. Indeed, the important part of those duties is to define the status of their clients in education: the underachievers, the gifted and talented; the disabled; the retarded; the discipline problems; the delinquent. By doing this, teachers also define their own status in relation to those others and thereby justify the work that they do. They use and apply many special terms as labels, in an exercise of power

which would be rather meaningless or misplaced if non-professionals used the terms. But in the hands of the empowered professionals, the terms and the categories that they create become tools of power that shape and repress other people's destinies and legitimise professional value systems. The language becomes powerful in ways that the study of education itself still leaves un theorised (ibid, p.153).

According to Foucault (1977), researchers use particular words, metaphors, and models during their inquiry because their research language reflects the effects of the influence of power in the larger society. Power, according to Foucault, has served to censor, exclude, block and repress like a great superego; but, he continues, it also serves to produce knowledge, creating effects at the level of desire. Bourdieu (1992) too, argues that all forms of power that impose meanings in such a way as to legitimate those meanings and conceal the relations that underlie the exercise of power itself add their own specifically symbolic force to those relations of power. However, according to 'w.w.w mtarchie' (2003), Mary Parker in the early 20th century reframed industrial power situations from bosses having 'power over' workers to people having 'power with' each other. Parker described power as not being a zero sum game where one can force another to do their will and where power has to be given up for the other person to be empowered. Instead Parker described power as being the capability or agency to do things and as being something that is shared between people and that grows if they work together. This, according to Parker, leads into the language of moving from '**win:lose**' outcomes to disputes to '**win:win**' solutions. Collaboration instead of domination or mere compromise and cooperation is the highly recommended type of power.

In this way, the dominant ideas that are given communicative meaning and force through that exercise of power reinforce the power of those same dominant forces that are exercising it. They see the culture of the school, then, as a creation of the dominant culture. In line with this argument, Kagame (1971) reminds us that, in 1962, the former Rwandan government passed the law that stated that the minimum

qualification for any Member of Parliament would be fluency in French, since all the parliamentary sessions were conducted in French. But, Kagame confirms, not even a ninth of Rwanda's population had secondary education. This law discriminated against the majority of people for the benefit of the few elite who enjoyed the government's favours.

Bourdieu's (1977) special term **habitus** represents a system of durable dispositions that are at the core of an individual's behaviour. He argues that the **habitus** held in common by the members of dominant groups permeates every aspect of schooling. This limits the educational opportunities of children from non-dominant groups because the school demands competence in the dominant language and culture, which can only be acquired through family upbringing. While the school might not openly stress this culture, it implicitly demands it through its definitions of success. As a result, those groups who are capable of transmitting through the family the dispositions or **habitus** necessary for the reception of the school's messages come to monopolise the system of schooling. These groups, which have alternative dispositions, tendencies, propensities, or inclinations, have little purchase on the culture of schooling, or on the social reward systems that the culture makes available.

Bourdieu (ibid) clearly shows how the practices of a society are re-invented and reproduced, especially through language and education. Clearly language in general is the key factor in reproducing and maintaining the conventions and traditions of cultures and societies since social reproduction is driven by interpersonal communication. Bourdieu maintains that: *'we learn how to perform even the most simple conventional act, such as giving our names to new acquaintances, by observing how others do it, by using and listening to those others as models, and by noting the reactions of others to our performance and changing our behaviour accordingly'* (1977,p.89).

To give an adequate analysis of the relations between language, education and power, Bourdieu marshals a very apt economic analogy. He presents culture metaphorically as an economic system. He introduces the phrase **cultural capital** to describe those culturally esteemed advantages that people acquire as a part of their life experiences, their peer group contacts, and their family backgrounds. Related to this cultural capital inherited from the family, 'academic capital' is the guaranteed product of the combined effects of cultural transmission by the family, and cultural transmission by the school.

Unfortunately, schools in Rwanda, owing to the **French assimilation system**, still operate as if all children have equal access to this cultural capital, ignoring the fact that the foreign language has destroyed much of it. Schools base their assessments of school success, failure, award of certificates and qualifications on children's possession of this high status capital, yet by the virtue of a high illiteracy rate, it belongs to very few people. Hence the arrangements produced by schools favour only the well to do families (political élite) and the majority is left out. In this way, Bourdieu contends, 'de facto' inequalities are translated into 'de jure' ones, and the value of the **cultural capital** passed to the next generation is reinforced yet again. This is what he described as 'symbolic power'-the power to constitute the given simply by stating it by dominant social groups who in this way inflict 'symbolic violence' upon non-dominant groups.

Arguably, according to Bourdieu symbolic violence is a form of oppression, which imposes arbitrary symbols of knowledge and expression upon those who often do not perceive the symbols as arbitrary but accept them as the way things must be. The members of some social groups-in Rwanda's case the illiterate majority-as a result, come to believe that their educational failure, rather than coming from their lowly esteemed social or cultural status, results from their natural inability: their lack of giftedness. However, a rural boy or girl who has never spoken a single word of French at home yet has to speak it at school (often in class only) has to compete with children who use it both at home and at

school. No wonder, L2 becomes more of a political language with no importance for majority of the citizens, other than being manipulated through it.

Ngugi Wa Thiong (1986) argues that when he wrote in his mother tongue, a language that people speak and really understand, the message really reached the masses better than when he wrote in English. No wonder his writing caused anger in Kenya from the politicians who thought he was instigating people to rebel against government policies. In the similar manner, Mazrui (1997) confirms that for the time being, the prospects of a genuine intellectual revolution in Africa may depend in no small measure on a genuine educational revolution that involves, at the same time, a widespread use of African languages as media of instruction.

In a nutshell, according to Herder (1969), we can say that there is definitely a strong interconnection between language and the development of intellectual peculiarity; these seem to emerge simultaneously and in reciprocally. In a way, Whorfian relativism is exemplified in this insistence, that language is the spiritual exhalation of the nation; thus its language is its spirit and its spirit is its language. For Cowan, (1965) language is the formative organ of thought. Herder (1969) feels that nothing is more important for national culture and continuity than possession of the ancestral tongue.

2.7. THE LINK BETWEEN EDUCATION, GLOBALISATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

According to Cummings (1997), modern schools have generally arisen out of a locally perceived need to prepare individuals for a fruitful life within a defined community. National and cultural needs, therefore, are often mixed with the individual's need to operate within a social, political, and economic realm. The demand for modern or globalised education standards arose generally out of a desire to link with a larger world and to access the seemingly superior opportunities it promised. As the community resources become increasingly linked to the movements of global resources and as opportunities become similarly tied, educational demand also changed (Brown and Lauder, 1996; Marshall, 1992).

Waters (1995) describes Robertson as the key figure in the formalisation and specification of the concept 'globalisation' (p.39). According to Robertson (1999) globalisation as a concept refers to both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole... both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century (p.8).

Furthermore, Waters (1995) looks at globalisation as a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware they are receding (p.3). From this perspective, national governments are proclaiming education as the key to success in the global economy and by doing so, the goals of schooling become directly related to the world's economic needs. In view of this, education and the economy are seen as having an interdependent relationship. Therefore, on one hand, competition in the global economy is dependent on the quality of education while on the other hand; the goals of education are dependent on the economy. On this issue Jamieson (1985) states that: *The rhetoric of education-business relations has usually taken the form of arguing that if the economy exhibits certain features and therefore has certain needs, then it follows that the schools must react in a certain way* (p.31). And precisely, the conflicting views on mother tongue policy in Rwandan primary school curriculum are all about this.

According to Larsen (2002) education's response to globalisation might have some beneficial and adverse implications regardless of the degree of liberalisation. Globalisation raises the problem of the international recognition of qualifications, and hence the quality of educational services provision, no longer just at national but at international level. It may have adverse effects, for instance by hindering the development of the national educational sector, lowering the real level of development assistance particularly in developing countries, causing a massive brain drain or raising problems of cultural standardisation. But it may also have a beneficial impact by increasing the supply of educational

services in countries with surplus demand, generating knowledge transfer among countries via partnerships (p.35).

The likelihood of these beneficial and adverse implications, Larsen (*ibid*) argues, depends entirely on the economic, social and institutional environment in each country. It is also contingent on policy decisions by governments, each of which will have to weigh the costs and benefits of globalisation issues in terms of education services for their own country, depending on the priorities they have set (p.35).

All in all, the significance of globalisation to the questions of national and economic development can be summarised in terms of changes to three rules (Brown and Lauder, 1996): firstly, the rules of eligibility-shift away from the closed economies of the post-war period towards an open economy; secondly, the rules of engagement in which markets can operate freely have dulled the monopoly held by trade unions to promote increased wages without commensurate productivity gains; thirdly, changes in the rules of wealth creation have seen that the technology of production itself is undergoing substantial and far-reaching change (Dickens, 1998). Globalisation comes along with an emphasis on developing human resource (Green, 1997) to the extent that human resource becomes a major player in the advancement of business and economic growth improving competitiveness and the quality of services and goods. This is what Brown and Lauder call 'value added'. In line with this, the current contribution of education and training in Rwanda to this process has to be examined in order that it might meet the desired global standards.

2.8. EDUCATION POLICY MAKING.

Looking at how, in 1978, Rwanda decided to take on board mother tongue policy in primary school curriculum after a long time of ignoring it confirms the fact that there is a tendency in the policy making literature, particularly concerning policy evaluation, to portray the policy process as a series of more or less discrete stages which take place one after the other in a linear sequence (stage model). Although this model might have some analytical advantages for Rwanda, in that it allows a neat dissection of the policy process, its depiction of how policies are made and implemented bears little resemblance to the rather chaotic events that often take place in practice e.g. disagreement amongst Rwandans on mother tongue policy issues. Such a view rests on the assumption that the policy process is largely rational, with actors making clearly defined decisions on the basis of well-reflected considerations. In Rwanda's case, this assumption was disproved where after more than a decade of mother tongue policy introduction in primary school, the curriculum failed to take root.

The stage model of policy making has often been questioned by theorists such as John (1998) and Hill (1993) who assume a post-positivist perspective and who stress that interpretation and discourse underpin the use of rational ideas. Looking at how many Rwandans vary in their views about mother tongue curriculum, one would feel a need for a different approach to policy making from that which is currently practised. This is why Hill (ibid) emphasises the necessity of adopting models in which feedback and constant changes are accounted for.

In the policymaking process, Hill (ibid) analyses the inputs, which take the form of support and demands, which are made by different pressure groups in the process of policymaking. The outputs of decisions and actions then become new inputs, which influence the demands and support from different pressure groups. However, all along this process there are environmental influences which might lead to modifications in the courses of action that are taken and which create or block

opportunities for the development of policies. This model assumes that, the policy process is essentially political; rather than rational/technical; and that negotiations between different groups constantly determine the development of policies.

This model is useful because it leads the analyst to focus attention on the relationship between elements/actors in the policy process. The centrality of the political system in this process makes considerations about the characteristics of the state and the government fundamental. Although this model presupposes that political actors make decisions on the basis of support and demand-like inputs, it does not rule out the possibility of having actors in the political system making unilateral decisions that do not necessarily reflect demands and support for specific policies. The model portrays an ideal of policy making in an ideal political system. Variations in state strength and autonomy and the extent of articulation of interest in the civil society, among other issues, would account for variations in the model (Evans, 1985).

In short, the constant feedback on the policy process (coming from experiences during implementation, from political considerations and from stakeholders, that have opinions on policies) implies that change is a constant element in policy making. As John (1998) states, 'usually there is no beginning and end to public policy, for the most part, there is only the middle' (p.26). However, the constant modification that policies undergo tends to, or should be tied to more or less reasonable social objectives. Such objectives provide a sense of direction to policies and without them, the policy process would end up being chaotic. Mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum is understood precisely in this sense. It does not imply total agreement among all Rwandans, but a general direction in mother tongue curriculum that might ensure that Rwandan society meets modern society's demands and expectations.

CHAPTER.3. METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

3.1.METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND METHODS

After the researcher has identified the research focus, the choice of the appropriate approach to arrive at the right results is of great importance (Borg, et al. 1997). For my study - the dynamics of mother tongues policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum; a qualitative approach was seen as most appropriate. I viewed the overall objective of my research as grounded in the interpretive tradition, in the development of an understanding of social life and an understanding of how people construct meaning, in my case, how Rwandans construct the meaning and importance of mother tongue policy in the primary school curriculum. It is about finding out what is 'meaningful or relevant' to Rwandans, in order to share their perspective and achieve an empathetic understanding of their different views concerning their mother tongue in their education system today (Neuman, 2000).

Underlying the decision on research design and methods of each research project are fundamental thoughts on ontology, epistemology and methodology. The link is described by Sarantakos (1998): a methodology translates the principles of a paradigm into a research language, and shows how the world can be explained, handled, approached or studied. This fitted well with my intention of studying the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum and to find out how it is understood by the Rwandans themselves.

Although qualitative and quantitative approaches both collect ideas from the society, they are philosophically different. They display different characteristics and use different techniques. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and the researched, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. In contrast, quantitative approaches emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships

between variables, and put less emphasis on the process of inquiring and field relations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). My purpose to use qualitative approach is to develop a valid and grounded theory that demonstrates the issues and concerns of Rwandans.

The rationale and the benefit of using grounded theory in this research is that, provides control with regard to action toward the phenomenon (Strauss et al, 1998, p.23). This is because the hypotheses proposing relationships among concepts, which later may be used to guide action, are systematically derived from actual data related to that phenomenon. According to Strauss (ibid) the purpose of grounded theory is to build theory that is faithful to and illuminates the area under study. In this case, apart from the issues of mother tongue as such, my research will ultimately be related to other disciplines as economics and political theory concerned with the future development of Rwanda.

Once ground theory as a method is carefully carried out, Strauss maintains that it can meet the criteria for doing ‘good’ science: significance, theory-observation compatibility, generalizability, reproducibility, precision, rigour and verification. Creativity, however, is another vital component of the grounded theory method. Its procedures force the researcher to break through assumptions and to create new order out of the old. Creativity manifests itself in the ability of the researcher to aptly name categories; and also to let the mind wander and make the free associations that are necessary for generating stimulating questions, and for coming up with the comparisons that led to discovery (p.27).

Since my study was concerned with the most precious treasure of human beings-language, taking views from both interpretivist and critical social science was the best to represent the views of Rwandans on their mother tongue. Interpretivists believe that the individuals create flexible systems of meaning, which they then use, in social interaction and in making sense of and for their lives. This includes questions of what we think is true and relevant. There is nothing as such to discover as of patterns or general rules as based on pre-existing laws. However, there are patterns or similarities

appearing, that they are ‘created out of evolving meaning systems or social conventions that people generate as they socially interact’ (Neuman, 2000).

Recent studies in culture theories (Schech and Haggis, 2000) have developed this appearance of shared meaning further by relating it to underlying structures of representation and power. Here is where the link can be made to the critical social scientist view on the nature of human beings. In line with Neuman (2000), if understanding of culture is a shared meaning of a system of representations such as language, body language, visual images, dress, then these shared meaning systems can be seen as what critical theory calls a social force which has power and operates on people. For instance, during the interviews, some of the interviewees’ body language and their facial expressions helped me to read some of their inner ‘unsaid’ feelings. Foucault (1977) focuses on processes by which certain meanings are rendered as true. According to Foucault in any given time and place, certain discourses acquire paradigmatic status as ‘truth’, providing the boundaries within which shared meanings are constructed through a particular system of representation.

While the positivists believe social theory should be gained in a deductive manner, the interpretive approach is ‘ideographic and inductive’ (Neuman, 2000). Therefore the central part of my study as an interpretive researcher was to provide a detailed, commonly called ‘thick’ description. The aim was to give a reader ‘a feel for another’s reality’ by ‘revealing the meanings, values, interpretive schemes and rules used by Rwandans in their mother tongue (Neuman, 2000). An explanation of social reality based on interpretivist traditions is more than telling examples but gives contrasting views as well (Silverman, 2000).

3.2. INTERVIEWS AND DOCUMENTS

I used interviews and document analysis because I found them compatible with my research question. This helped me to analyse the views and attitude of the interviewees. Since I cannot speak French, I used some friends to conduct some interviews with people who could neither speak English nor Kinyarwanda. I preferred semi-structured questions since, according to Strauss et al. (1990), if one uses structured questions, respondents may answer only a question that is asked and often without elaboration. I really experienced this during the fieldwork, when many interviewees were freely giving good ideas that I had not asked. Most of the questions (see appendix i) were open such as: *tell me what you think of mother tongue in Rwandan primary school. What is your experience of teaching in mother tongue?* This gave my respondents more room to answer in terms of what was important to them.

Furthermore, the use of interviews was preferred based on Bell's (1993) argument that interviews centre around the topic, and in skilled hands may produce quite valuable data, though the interview may require a great deal of experience and can be time consuming. An interview approach helped me answer my research questions by allowing me to know the participants' perceptions, aspirations and expectations on the topic of my inquiry.

Cohen and Manion (1985) state that interviews may serve three purposes as a distinctive research technique: first, interview may be used as the principal means of gathering information having direct bearing on the research questions. Cohen and Manion (ibid) describe this as a process that provides access to what is 'inside a person's head' making it possible to understand what a person knows (knowledge or information), what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences), and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs). Secondly, it may be used to test hypotheses or to suggest new

ones; or as an explanatory device to help identify variables and relationships. And thirdly, the interview may be used in conjunction with other methods in research understanding. I decided to use interview because given the introduction of yet another foreign language (English) as a medium of instruction in Rwanda, I wanted to get Rwandans' attitude and perceptions about their mother tongue.

The government documents on the other hand helped me to carry out the investigation from the government document policy perspective. The documents involved in this study are secondary sources, which derived from the Ministry of Education policy documents, national curriculum and examination council reports. In this study, documents are used to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. For example going through these documents portrayed some aspects of educational policy issues that both explicitly and implicitly implied elements of mother tongue policy. They provided the historical developments of mother tongue policy from colonial days till the present time. However, the amount of documentary evidence selected was influenced by the time available, as it was not possible to analyse everything (Bell, 1993). The availability of these documents for analysis also depended on the permission granted by the Ministry of Education.

However, it is good to remember that document analysis requires more contextualised interpretation. Documents endure and thus give historical insights. I had to find out the documented language policy that Rwanda has used since Independence. These documents helped me to document major events, crises, and social conflicts; provided contextual information; facilitated my analysis, validity checks and triangulation; their data were easy to administer and manage. There are good reasons for believing that good policy research is strengthened if the design takes more than one tool: commonly known as triangulation. Triangulation helped me to give attention to the three basic types of triangulation suggested by Denzin et al. (2000):

1. Data triangulation: the use of a variety of data sources in a study;
2. Theory triangulation: the use of multiple methods to study a single set of data;
3. Methodological triangulation: the use of multiple methods to study a single problem.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

TABLE:2.

DATE	SAMPLE	ACTIVITY	PLACE/WHO	TIME TAKEN
28-1-3	2 teachers	Interview	Kigali Parents Primary School.	40 mins. each.
29-1-3	3 teachers	„	Notre Dame Primary School.	30mins. each.
30-1-3	1 politician	„	Educational Planning Director.	50mins.
4-2-3	1 teacher	„	Remera Community Primary School.	45mins.
5-2-3.	2 politicians		1. Director, Department of Higher Education. 2. Inspector General of Schools.	30mins. each.
6-2-3	3 teachers	„	Rwamagana Anglican Primary	35mins. each.

			School.	
11-2-3	1 politician	„	Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education.	45mins.
12-2-3	2 politicians	„	1. Central Inspector of Schools. 2. Director for Primary Education.	35mins. 2.50mins.
13-2-3	3 teachers	„	La Colombier Primary School.	40mins.each
19-2-3 20-2-3	2 politicians	„	1. Director, National Curriculum. 2. Head of Languages- National Curriculum.	35.mins.each.
20-2-3	2 teachers	„	Green Hills International Primary School.	45mins.each.
25-2-3	1 teachers	„	Butare Catholic Primary School.	1hr.

26-2-3	1 politician	„	The Dean.	45mins.
27-2-3	2 politicians	„	1. State Secretary for Education. 2. Secretary General Public Service 3. Secretary General Ministry of Works.	1.25mins. 2.30mins.
4-3-3	1 politician	„	Director, National Examination Council.	1hr
5-3-3	1 politician	„	Director, Research Programmes.	1:25hrs
13-3-3	2 politicians	„	1. The Rector, National University. 2. The Rector, Kigali Institute of Education.	1.50mins. 2. 1hr.

3.3. SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research conducted world-wide confirms that from the pedagogical standpoint it is better, all other things being equal, to teach children in their mother tongue. Again as mentioned earlier, because this study is not hypothetically approached, it is important to find out what views politicians and teachers of different experiences, ages, and genders hold about their mother tongue policy. My participants

were politicians and teachers because politicians play an important role in formulating educational policies while teachers implement policies and are often in contact with parents and children, hearing their views on any educational policy that affects them.

As mentioned earlier, the aim of this research is to find out the dynamics (different views and ideas) of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. So the focus of this research ranges from policy generation, to implementation issues, to differences in attitudes to mother tongue as a medium of instruction, between politicians and teachers, older and younger teachers, and male and female. My choice of these interviewees was influenced by Oppenheim (1999) who suggests that a researcher learns the roles of, and relationships among, participants. Therefore I identified teachers and politicians because they had the knowledge and experience I required; they had the ability to reflect; they were articulate; and because they knew the importance of education, they were willing to participate in the study. Therefore, to achieve this, I tried to answer the following research questions:

1. Who introduced the current mother tongue policy and why?
- 2 To what extent do teachers feel confident in following this policy?
3. What are the significant differences in views between politicians and teachers concerning mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum?
4. Are there any significant differences in views and attitudes concerning mother tongue policy between older teachers and younger teachers?
5. Are there any significant differences in attitude and views concerning mother tongue policy between different genders?

3.4. DATA COLLECTION AND SAMPLE

While collecting any data, answering the question ‘where’ is important because, according to Strauss (1990) one of the major issues that often confront researchers is where to sample, that is, where to go to obtain the data necessary to further the development of the evolving theory. I carried out my research in Rwanda because naturalism is an important aspect for qualitative research. This approach helped me to study the views of Rwandans concerning mother tongue policy in their natural setting- Rwanda.

Furthermore, for any study to be a success, information needs to be drawn from a sample that represents the whole population. In my case, I interviewed 15 politicians of different working experiences, different ages and different genders, then 15 teachers also of different working experience, different ages and different genders. Population is the ‘total number of elements covered by the research question’ (Oppenheim, 1999 p. 134)). However, since populations are normally too vast for scientific investigation, choosing every Rwandan or even a significant percentage to hear her or his view was neither affordable nor important.

A researcher learns the roles of and relationships among participants. Therefore I identified appropriate informants with the knowledge and experience I required; who had the ability to reflect; who were articulate; who had the time to be interviewed; and who were willing to participate in the study.

Patton (1990) provides guidelines for sampling and suggests that the logic and power behind purposeful selection of informants is that the sample should be information rich. I used purposeful sampling to select participants who could exemplify characteristics of interest. With intensity sampling one selects participants who are experiential experts and who are authorities on a particular experience. This is why I chose teachers and politicians (the few Rwandan élite) whose experiential expertise and authority at their work is not doubted by many Rwandans.

In nutshell, the primary feature of all these methods of sampling is that the situation of the sample is determined according to the needs of the study; and not according to external criteria, such as random selection. Participants are representative of the same experience or knowledge; they are not selected because of their demographic reflection of the general population (Patton, 1990). However, I combined both techniques (purposeful and intensive sampling) to obtain results from people who could exemplify characteristics of interest in mother tongue policy and with experiential knowledge about mother tongue policy in Rwanda.

3.5.THE CODING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATEGORIES

3.5.1 INITIAL CODING

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), while coding the data, all events, happenings, actions, and interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped together under more abstract concepts called categories. But this conceptual name ‘category’ must be suggested by the context in which an event is located (p.113).

According to Miles and Huberman’s (1994) account, qualitative data analysis has ‘three concurrent flows of activities’ (p.161) within the process of analysis: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. During the complete process of analysis, Silverman (2000) points out four basic operations: coding (attaching meaning to pieces of data by labelling them), keeping memos (recording ideas while coding), abstracting and comparing. Within all these activities, I was trying to process the data; in other words, potentially shaping my data.

I based my data coding process mainly on Strauss and Corbin (1990) by formulating categories, with their properties and dimensions. Here, it is necessary to explain how I arrived at my categories and to clearly understand their relationship to properties and dimensions. First of all, categories, properties and dimensions are all drawn from the data by interpreting concepts within the data. Concepts often

bring with them commonly held meanings and associations and when we think about them, certain images may come into our minds. Such meanings could bias my interpretations of the data and prevent me from seeing what is new in them. And since categories represent phenomena, they might be named differently, depending on the perspective of the researcher and the research context. For example, whereas my category of **colonialism** highlighted some kind of **superiority and inferiority complexes created by colonialism among Rwandans**, other contexts might offer a different interpretation.

Whereas properties define and give meaning to a category, dimensions give specifications to a category for further clarifications. Dimensions as explanatory descriptors, helped me to give specificity to my categories by defining each category's particular characteristics as demonstrated by the data. Getting properties and dimensions clearly gives the researcher the means to examine the data. For example, with ideas of what properties and dimensions of **colonialism, culture, sense of belonging, pedagogy** are, I was able to cross check the data to see whether any of these categories are in my data and therefore, if I could determine more specifically what my interviewees meant by such explanations. This helped me to assess and evaluate the stereotypical views such as *the negative attitude held by many Africans in general about colonialism and the constant blame put on their national education systems*. Through this delineation of properties and dimensions, a researcher differentiates a category from other categories (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Qualifying categories assisted me to formulate patterns along their variations by locating each property along its dimensions.

Looking for ideas from my data to form my categories, properties and dimensions, was always done at the end of a day's work. I could transcribe and analyse interviews of a given day before interviewing other respondents since the concepts that emerged from a particular interview analysis; and I was unsure about them could help me seek more information from the next respondents and the questions that arose now and then could become guidelines for further data gathering.

I open coded the data after a thorough reading through transcripts to allow inductive theory generation to come from the interviewees' point of view. After breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising my data, I identified four concepts, which I turned into categories with different properties and dimensions pertaining to each category. These were the most recurring and related concepts.

The first concept was the western influence as the causal condition of mother tongue neglect in Rwandan primary schools, so I categorised this concept as '**colonialism**'. The second was the concept of the loss of Rwandan values, norms and traditions, which I categorised as '**culture**'. Thirdly a good number of interviewees indicated the problem of complexes among the youth and therefore a strong desire to improve their feelings as real Rwandans, which I categorised as '**sense of belonging**'. Fourthly, in the area of education, the data clearly shows considerable variations in the use of L1 as the medium of instruction Vs L2. I categorised this as '**Pedagogy**'. This is summarised below showing the four categories with their properties and dimensions:

TABLE: 3.

CATEGORY	PROPERTY	DIMENSION
1.COLONIALISM.	Superiority and inferiority complexes.	Lack of freedom, anything African is uncivilized, elitism.
	Alienation	Indoctrination, creation of hegemony, world order, training of loyal Africans to prolong Western ideology.
2.CULTURE.	Meaning-making	Values, symbolism, norms, music, cultural heritage, self-expression, socialisation, shared vision,
	Social responsibility	Social roles, male domination, men as orators, women as caretaker, social and communal beings, dependence, gender social roles
3.SENSE OF BELONGING.	National identity	True self, link to the nation, unity, social and political dividends, pride, psychological healing.
	Nationalism	Brotherhood, emotional and sensational attachment, social and national awareness,

		teaching of civics, oneness.
4.PEDAGOGY.	<p>Perception.</p> <p>Cognitive.</p> <p>Educational system.</p>	<p>An early experience, dialogical approach is broken, no reading culture and environment, no taxonomy of learning.</p> <p>Cause of incompetent graduates, lack of conceptualisation, cannot transfer knowledge, examination is made harder.</p> <p>Foreign curriculum, teaching for simple literacy because in primary you cannot go deep in L2, language across curriculum, L1 should go up to the end of high school.</p>

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), using questioning style can be very useful in trying to categorise the data. By asking myself questions like ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘why’, ‘where’, and ‘how’ enriched my knowledge of the data. For instance, reading through my data and memos, I found a lot of phrases full of complaints of oppression and suppression, e.g. *we had our own way of doing things, but now we are prisoners of other people. It is as if we do not know what is good for our selves.* There was a lot of longing for the lost kind of freedom that existed long ago in Rwanda. So, my question was: Who caused this loss of freedom? My answer to this question was ‘**the colonial category**’.

I tried to deeply understand the use of the often-used metaphor ‘prisoners’ in the data by asking myself: what did this metaphor stand for? What kind of mood and tone does this metaphor indicate? This drove me back to the data where I came across respondents such as T5, P8 and 13 saying that: *‘Independence to us means nothing. All our policies are still decided by London and Washington D.C through their agencies such as the World Bank, I.M.F, Unesco etc. We are still colonised only that today is indirect’*. Bearing this in mind, I interpreted the metaphor ‘prisoners’ as a portrayal of lack of freedom for Rwandans to do what they want. Interviewees were not simply implying that they were in prison as we know it, rather that some of the properties that one might think of as pertaining to daily life in prison resonated in their situation.

But it is human to assign meaning to things derived from daily experience believing, that is how other people feel about it, which is not correct. Superiority and inferiority complexes created by colonialists that made many Rwandans lose their sense of pride and confidence were evident through respondents like P15 and T12: *‘nothing African is good for young people today. For young people today, speaking mother tongue means uneducated and uncivilized’*. Hence superiority and inferiority complexes became the properties of the colonial category.

The answer to my question of who caused the loss of freedom that Rwandans are longing for only satisfied one side of my curiosity. I had to go further and ask myself what exactly colonialists did that made Rwandans feel inferior and alienated? Are there any indicators of the things they can no longer enjoy fully today because of colonialism? A good number of interviewees in the data cited the loss of their values, norms and African music. Many indicated that culture is a *meaning -making* element in any society. This is how the category of ‘**culture**’ came into existence with meaning-making and social support as properties.

To better understand and confirm the implication of these two interlinked categories on **colonialism and culture**, I employed what Strauss and Corbin (1990) call *flip-flop technique*. I asked myself: Does colonialism have the same weight, interpretations and impact on different nations? This forced me to go back to my data where I found a good number of comparisons to countries like Japan and China whose colonial impact did not intrude into their language and culture. Interviewee such as T3 stated that: *'countries like these have developed economically and are stable because of having one language that unites them'*.

Leaving the impact of colonialism on the culture aside, I wondered what my interviewees really meant by 'culture' anyway. Did they suggest some kind of separatism? With this, I wanted to consider a range of plausibility to avoid taking one stance toward the data. This is what Borg (1997) calls letting **'data speak'**. With this device, I managed to break the data apart and reconstructed it to form an interpretive scheme. Across the data and memos, interviewees like P10, 13 and T2 clearly demonstrated the idea of culture as: *'culture is not necessarily a rejection of other people's ideas, the way they do things, and sharing with them some few ideas but we would like to keep our society together with its unique way of doing things such as social support and dependence'*.

These respondents further stated very strongly that: *'it is amazing how our cultural heritage such as dances and dress were called immoral to the benefit of western dances and dresses. If I look at some of the western dances today where girls and boys hold each other almost at zero distance, then I wonder if it not immoral as well). I wonder how different the western mini skirts; stomach shows, and torn blue jeans are different from our African clothes that were called immoral'*.

But how then, could my interviewees prove that the claimed cultural heritage is really lost due to colonialism? Is there any proof that many Rwandans today neglect their culture? How do people who do not appreciate their culture behave? These questions were satisfied by the data that clearly indicated that many young Rwandans today do not want to speak their mother tongue, do not want to be associated with anything local. Respondents T7 and T14 shifted the blame to the National Curriculum Development Centre that does not enforce the teaching of mother tongue policy and civics: *'the teaching of mother tongue and Civics would remind young people their brotherhood, sisterhood and promote their sense of belonging'*.

I went on to wonder if colonialists alienated Rwandans through their education system, as some respondents claimed and that is why many Rwandans do not want to be identified with anything local, and have no nationalistic feelings, how come that some respondents still feel proud of their nation and culture? What does it mean to be a nationalist? By going back to my data, I found out that nationalism had something to do with sensation and attachment to one's nation. The lack of nationalism among Rwandans is attributed to an education system and curriculum that do not encourage self-expression and self-determination among Rwandans. Respondents like P1, 3 and T6 argued that: *'our education is foreign. The curriculum is foreign. Oxford, Cambridge or American publishers with their own cultural values and background print core books. So how do you expect our young people to grow knowing and having Rwandan attachment?'* I named this category **'sense of belonging'** by critically interpreting phrases in the data such as these: *'we need a strong civics curriculum in our schools to inculcate the sense of belonging to Rwanda in our young people today. With all our ethnic divisions we need more unity and attachment to our country than ever'*.

Furthermore, I asked myself, how did colonialists manage to create a negative attitude among Rwandans towards their own culture and sense of belonging? Why do Rwandans feel bothered by L2? Going back to my data and memos, many ideas such as: *'children's perception and approach to life depend on the type of education they acquire. L2 confuses children's learning since it comes with foreign beliefs, words and ideas yet children's learning depends on their early experiences'* were very evident. Having thought through these factors, I came up with the category of **'pedagogy'** with perception, cognitive and education system as the properties.

Having got my four categories, I went back to the data to assess and evaluate it further. This helped me to be sure of the content in the data and to find out how relevant and focused my categories were. To do this, I asked myself the following questions:

1. In what ways do these categories demonstrate different views of mother tongue (L1) policy in the Rwandan Primary school curriculum?
2. Does a significant number of interviewees feel strongly affected by these conditions?
3. Is there any suggestion by interviewees of the way forward?

In trying to answer these questions, I was able to confirm some of my categories. I had to change the category I had named **'identity'** to **'sense of belonging'** because the need to have some kind of attachment to one's country through L1 was more on the sensational and emotional level than just being identified with one's nation. Realising this need for further analysis, I had to go further by employing axial coding.

3.5.2 AXIAL CODING

In the words of Strauss and Corbin (1990), axial coding is the act of relating categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions (p.124). Here the researcher looks at how categories crosscut and link and therefore, axial coding is not entirely independent from initial coding. It is just a process during and after the initial coding. At this point, I had to crosscut the causal conditions and their consequences to get my dominant category. I examined the relationships among my different categories. I tried to find out the similarities and differences in the causal conditions and consequences among these categories. As I re-assessed the four categories that I got in initial coding, I found out that my dominant codes would be '**Post colonial**' and '**Language structure**'. The term 'postcolonial' here is used to imply the period after independence. '**Language structure**' implies the significant difference between **Bantu** language and Western language. This is summarised below:

TABLE:4.

DOMINANT CODE.	PROPERTY.	DIMENSION.
1.POST COLONIALISM.	Globalisation.	Hang-ups for colonial life style, international relations, preference for western education, foreign policy, science and technology, intercultural enrichment, mobility.
	Economic Development.	Business, poverty reduction, regional cooperation, being land locked, marketability, free trade.
2.LANGUAGE STRUCTURE.	Current language situation.	Bantu vs Western languages, translation impossible due to vocabulary inadequacy in L1 and it is too expensive, meaning distortion, insufficient teachers and teaching materials, discrepancy between urban and rural schools, elementary teaching.
	Motivation.	Need for in-service training, media and parents role, enough hours for L1 and L2, lack of up to date educational material and

		qualified teachers.
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But I asked myself what my interviewees really implied by post colonialism. Statements such as: *'Many of our ministers and rich people still have hang-ups for their masters' colonial kind of life. Ministers are the ones who write policies like mother tongue policy, yet they prefer taking their children to study in Europe, America, Australia. Politicians prefer keeping their money in western banks for better security. Business class looks at the world as a small village for them to freely move back and forth. We cannot use Bantu languages in all discourse. Translations distort original meaning in L2 texts. We do not have enough materials to train L1 teachers and for publications of our own materials. We need to train teachers and involve parents and media to promote L2'*. Therefore I concluded that many Rwandans attribute their post colonialism problems to the consequences of globalisation and economic development in Rwanda today. These became properties of post colonialism while current language situation and motivation to L2 teaching became properties of language structure. These properties threw more light on my dominant codes of **post colonialism and language structure**.

However, as Strauss and Corbin put it, we all carry certain sets of recognised and unrecognised assumptions and somehow have to break through these, or at least learn to work with them, if we are to make any advance in knowledge (p.70). This is why I had to ask myself if my two dominant codes or categories, **post-colonial and language structure** have something to do with my first four categories (colonial, culture, sense of belonging and pedagogy). By carrying out a thorough cross checking of the data and memos, it was clear in the data and the memos that, in spite of significant complaints on colonialism and the foreign education system, a lot of suggestions by respondents like T9 and 11 had a different view: *'Life in Rwanda today is different from colonial times. Globalisation*

has come to stay and we cannot remain Islands while nations are economically developing. L1 cannot help us to cooperate regionally and internationally. We need both L1 and L2' were quite evident in the data.

I also assessed and evaluated how my properties of 'globalisation and economic development' vary along their dimensional ranges. Critically reading the data, I found out that these properties range from: regional and diplomatic relations, business, international education, science and technology, conflict between Bantu and Western languages to insufficient materials and teachers. Such explanatory descriptors or dimensions to my categories helped me to give my dominant codes specificity through definitions of their particular characteristics as demonstrated in the data.

3.5.3 SELECTIVE CODING

Selective coding is a process of looking for the unifying concept that might fit the data as the core category or the central theme to sum up the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Being aware of this fact, I analysed my data again and checked all my memos to get the sense of the core category, which I named '**TRADE OFFS**'. I came to this core category after assessing all the categories and my memos, and found out that majority of interviewees expressed the possibility of retaining L2 as a medium of instruction but making sure that the teaching of L1 is improved. The majority of them suggested that the teaching of L1 up to the end of high school should be compulsory.

Every type of inquiry rests on asking effective questions. In deciding which category I could take as my core category questions were directed at advancing my understanding of the theoretical issues. Questions such as these provided direction for my evolving theory:

1. Is my developing theory logical?
2. Have I really exhausted the data?
3. Have I classified and named the core category after a thorough examination of the categories, properties and dimensions?

Here, I was attempting to understand how Rwandans interpreted certain issues in their education system. This prevented me from jumping precipitously to my own theoretical conclusions. So, I had to integrate all my categories to sum up what my research would look like according to the data. According to Ary et al. (1979) this technique helps to serve as a stepping off point for the analytic story that is to follow.

During this process, I related my core category to all other categories and attempted to validate those relationships. By carrying out this exercise, I found out some causal and intervening conditions with some strong consequences. Realising the desired compromise in the two dominant categories - that is, a desire to keep L2 as a medium of instruction in schools and a strong need to strengthen L1 in school and after re-reading and checking of all my categories with their properties and dimensions and sorting them out, I confirmed my core category of '**TRADE OFFS**'. Comparison analysis was of great help to identify and compare my categories. It helped me to listen closely to **what** the interviewees in the data were saying at the end of our long discussion and **how** they were saying it.

Once concepts are related through statements of relationship into an explanatory theoretical framework, the research findings move beyond conceptual ordering to theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). By theorising my findings, I gave an explanation about the new phenomena expressed in my

coded data. In the words of Strauss and Corbin (ibid, p. 22), the phenomena that evolve from, and are explained by, a theory are varied. Generating a theory on the phenomena is important because it contributes to the field of knowledge. I had to develop these concepts into a well-developed and related set of explanatory phenomena about how Rwandans view their L1vL2 within their education system. My theory also enabled me to explain and predict events within the Rwandan education system, thereby providing guidelines to actions, for example, how policy makers should look into the needs of today and strike a compromise between maintaining some cultural heritage and at the same time meet the need for economic development and globalisation need. Furthermore, to be sure of my central theme or core category on which other categories could be related, I asked myself the following questions:

1. Can my core category help the theory to grow in-depth and explanatory power? This question's answer is definitely found in my recommended theory of **TRADEOFF**. The only way the Rwandan government can manage to create a balance between what is economically needed today and national cultural heritage.
2. Can my core category explain the variations as well as the main point in the data?-Here, the main argument is that, Rwanda, like any other former colonies, has both linguistic, cultural and economic problems. So, my core category has tried to highlight such issues from the economic, cultural and nationalism perspective.
3. If conditions vary can my core category still hold? Even if Rwandans succeed in using their L1 as a medium of instruction, still there would be a need to go beyond their borders for international relations – hence the need to balance the national and international interests.

3.5.4 VALIDATING AND RELIABILITY

Ethics in research begins and ends with the researcher and therefore it is paramount for the researcher to look at the relationship between the research process and morals, values, and politics (Neuman, 2000). Being a victim of the same education system of using L2 as a medium of instruction, I might be pre occupied by some personal views. With this awareness in mind, throughout my research I tried to avoid this temptation of throwing my own words into the interviewees' mouths trying to influence their views. Conclusion drawing and verification concentrated on 'noting similarities, differences, patterns, causal and consequence conditions and any intervening factors (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). For further validation, the guiding questions used during the interview (since they were semi-structured), a selection of government documents and transcribed work will be included in this work as appendix and the rest will be available on request.

In my case the ethnic problem could not be overlooked. Since some participants could easily recognise my ethnic group and as a result hide some information, I used the two friends to carry out some interviews for me in order to respect the issue of validity and reliability. A sensitive researcher is also aware of the harm to the participant's self esteem (Neuman, 2000). Addressing the issue of mother tongue and related issues like language in line with globalisation had to be handled carefully. Therefore, I had to select questions and respond to the participants in a way that could not harm their self-esteem but leave the participant with the feeling of a positive contribution to the research. And indeed the majority felt good for having contributed not only to my research but also to one of the most contested issues in Rwanda-mother tongue.

According to Strauss et al. (1990), a certain degree of consistency is important in research for systematic comparisons on each category making sure that each category is fully developed. This maximises opportunities for comparative analysis. With this in mind, I returned my transcribed data to my interviewees to validate my data and verify if what I transcribed did reflect their views. Though

only a few managed to respond, of those, a majority still maintained their stand on different categories. But some, particularly among politicians changed their views, for instance one of them commented: *'well, I think, now I beg to differ from my former 100% support of L1 as a medium of instruction. Some of your respondents' ideas are quite substantial. In Rwanda we really need to concentrate on economic development before we think of mother tongue issue. And Rwandans hunger for globalisation is really justifiable'*. Such variation from respondents like these might have been caused by either an after thought after the interview or having read other respondents' views. This was helpful since I managed to modify my theory development. I managed to link such new ideas to my already coded concepts.

These activities within the process of analysis were applied with overall objective to answer my specific research questions:

1. Who introduced the current policy and why?
2. To what extent do teachers feel confident in following this policy?
3. What are the significant differences in views and attitude between politicians and teachers concerning mother tongue policy in Rwandan primary schools?
4. Is there any significant difference in views and attitudes concerning mother tongue policy between older teachers and younger teachers?
5. Is there any significant difference in attitude and views concerning mother tongue policy between genders?

However, during the research I met some minor problems in conducting interviews. Firstly, I had to use one interviewer whose ethnic group is neutral (Twa) to conduct some interviews to avoid bias in my results. This helped the interviewees to speak freely with someone whose ethnic group is not seen as oppressive politically. Secondly, Rwanda being multilingual, yet I am not, I had to employ a second person to interview those who were not comfortable with either English or Kinyarwanda. In spite of extra financial burden and training them how to conduct interviews, they did a valuable job for me.

CHAPTER.4: DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In chapter one, I discussed the background to my study and Rwanda's education systems from pre-colonial times until today. In chapter two, I looked at the literature pertaining to this study and in chapter three I discussed the methodology that I used to collect my data. In this chapter, I am going to discuss the data referred to in chapter three in more detail. Each category and property identified during the coding process is discussed and analysed. A considerable amount of direct quotations of what my respondents said will be used within this chapter, since it is their words that clearly indicate the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. Such direct quotations will be indicated by either 'T' standing for 'teacher' or 'P' standing for 'politician/policy maker' and the whole phrase or sentence will be italicised. This discussion will lead me to the conclusions, implications, reflections and recommendations for the future research.

4.1.COLONIALISM

4.1.1. INTRODUCTION

This term indicates that a foreign language was imposed on Rwandans and their native language was suppressed. As discussed in the literature review, language performs different functions, including communication, expression and conceptualisation. It can also be used as a means of domination and discrimination: an instrument to give or block access to economic, education and political processes. According to the majority of the respondents, it is the latter aspect that brings the issue of language to the centre stage in Rwanda:

Because of colonial influence in education, we have no our own educational programmes, curriculum, syllabus or technology (P8: 1569). We inherited not only the western education but also their ways of life. This is why our education system today, is full of

western values that come with L2 (P4: 711). Our young and educated people feel superior if they use L2 and appreciate western values and as a result those who cannot speak L2 or live according to the western values feel small and less valuable in Rwandan society (P 7:1578).

The colonial legacy, according to some respondents, influenced even African leaders after Independence:

L1 was always enshrined in Rwanda's different constitutions that were to be easily discarded following every other violent change of regime (T15: 1396). Leaders always settled on inconvenient compromise, often choosing the language of their former colonial powers for official and educational purposes (T9: 1092). Many of Rwandans are Rwandans by birth or by descent, but not in behaviour or character (P4: 712).

With respect to these ideas, superiority/inferiority complexes and alienation were identified as the properties and will be discussed.

4.1.2. SUPERIORITY/ INFERIORITY COMPLEXES

According to a good number of respondents, colonialists, through their language, robbed Rwandans of their sense of confidence by creating the so called élite class that does not respect what belongs to them and overlooks those who are not educated as inferior citizens. When I asked how foreign languages affect them and L1, a good number of the respondents cited the problems of the rural population (the majority) that feels inferior before the élite:

The most worrying thing about second languages is that, they make our mother tongue sound inferior (P8: 1527). The moment children are taught in L2 and on top of that they are beaten if found speaking vernacular as it is the trend in Rwanda. It belittles not only our mother tongue but also us as Rwandans (T3: 25). This already indirectly suggests to the children that their mother tongue is inferior and useless in life. Then they grow up with this kind of inferiority complex and negative attitude about their mother tongue. Foreign languages force children to see their societal realities and understanding them with a foreign interpretation (T5: 918-920).

I asked my respondents what really could be the cause of this linguistic problem since Rwandans themselves manage the whole education system. A significant number of respondents argued that colonialism still lingers among Rwandans. In fact, according to some respondents, independence means nothing to them:

Right from sixties our education tended to be colonial, to be European, to be children of Europeans and to go to Europe for our studies. And even today Rwandans still have that hangover. We are not independent as some people think, only that during colonial times, colonialism was direct whereas today it is indirect (P8: 1600-1604). Independence did not wash away the first picture of actual colonialism. We are still living in the very fashion of colonialism and we cannot run away from this fact. (P7: 1492). The power and good standard of living of the colonialists were intermingled with their language. So, as our people struggle to achieve the same standards and power, they try to speak the same language that could keep their link to the West (T4: 216).

But Rwanda, unlike many other African countries, has one indigenous language. How could this claim of colonialism dividing Rwandans along linguistic lines be substantiated? How can inferiority and superiority complexes be so evident in a country where L1 belongs to all the citizens? Respondents like T8 and T12 answered these questions describing how colonial administration worked. During colonial times, politics was mixed with religion because missionaries helped colonial administrators to manage local people by controlling their emotions and sensations through education system that meant to make Rwandans submissive, not critical thinkers. With this approach, all African languages were seen as not clean and fit enough for any religious rituals. And of course this extended to education since missionaries controlled the biggest percentage of schools. This accounts for the neglect and underdevelopment of African languages and their lack of academic vocabularies.

In line with the above argument, respondents argued that: *how can a particular society or nation with completely no cultural relation with a given country claim the right to legislate any language or system of language that another country must follow (P11: 1792). While one can say that one society has a more advanced technological capacity, it is very unclear what it would mean to say that the same society has a higher standard of beliefs, moral and social values (P2: 326).* In fact, Tangwa (1992) also echoes the same argument: that western societies' superiority complexes come from the confusion of celebrating their indisputable technological advancement and achievement with human dignity. Above all, Tangwa argues, western societies have not achieved this advancement in a vacuum, without piggybacking on the resources and intellect of other societies (p.3).

As many of my respondents were teachers - hence quite well informed and experienced in educational matters - it was very important to find out if at all they could clarify for me the importance of L1 to an education system:

The moment we exist as Banyarwanda, our mother tongue must of necessity exist otherwise it would tantamount to extinction of some sort. This is why children need to develop their mother tongue right from an early age to know them selves better through both formal and informal education (T15: 1346).

The language children do not understand, disappoints the excitement they come with at school at the very first time (T7: 257). If children are not taught in their mother tongue, they feel that, their languages are inferior vis-à-vis other languages. And therefore themselves too and whoever is connected to them are inferior (T 4: 218-219).

Regardless of the importance of L1 cited above, further probing questions to the respondents were necessary at this moment. This gave more chance to the respondents to throw more light on the issue of L2 in education system. Rwanda has been using L2 for the last a hundred years and it seems Rwandans find it necessary for them to develop and advance in science and technology. Why argue against it? The response here was both psychological and emotional:

Many Rwandans today do not feel attached to other Rwandans; they always find a means of likening themselves to the western people. This is why we lack pride in whatever is Rwandan, taking it to be uncivilised (P7: 1426). Linguistically there is no uncivilised language and there is no culture that is superior to the other (P4: 778). Rwandans confuse technology with culture. Technology is not culture, it is science, it is universal, and it has nothing to do with say Portuguese, French or American culture (P 6: 849).

A majority of the respondents feels that most of Rwandans, typical of many former colonised people, feel that they are not respected by the western world. Respondents such as T1 and P13 had a view that this lack of confidence forced many educated Rwandans to take up French or Belgian citizenship to get around their feeling of belonging to an assumed lesser race. Many Rwandans worry about what

other people think about them too much. This develops an inferiority complex among many Rwandans.

Beare et al. (1993) state that the belief in the superiority of the modern scientific worldview has been especially strong and pervasive. Its emphasis on certainty, objectivity, predictability and instrumental rationality has dominated the education systems introduced by the Europeans (p.588). This, Beare goes on, has led to colonisers to assume an inherent intellectual ethnocentrism-an intrinsic sense of the superiority of their own ideologies and value systems-that has resulted in the denigration of indigenous knowledge and its process of analysis and transmission.

The above views, however, are sharply contradicted by Ohiri (1985) that, there is no doubt that speaking a foreign language imposes a foreign cultural milieu on one, but this is not the totality of the explanation for the absence of confidence in the indigenous African cultures in the post-colonial period. The problems are multidimensional. The contribution of the heterogeneity of linguistic agglomerations that make up many African states is a serious one, but other equally severe ones are the successful assault that has been launched against the historical, political, economic, religious, scientific, medical, military, educational, ethical, and cultural heritage of African peoples and the lack of defined vision, purpose, and understanding of statecraft by the so-called political leaders that came to power at the independence of the African multi- ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural states (p.10).

4.1.3. ALIENATION

Coming to the issue of alienation, the fact that schools use L2 as a medium of instruction in upper levels of education in Rwanda, and the failure of many teachers to honour L1 policy in lower primary school was described by the majority of respondents as an indication of indoctrination and having been brainwashed:

There are some books written within an African context, but all our schools are following traditional French, Oxford or Cambridge course books full of very European local examples, which are pedagogically good but completely out of context for African pupils, particularly in rural areas (T9: 1104-1105). Because many of us had our education in L2, we are completely brain washed and indoctrinated. All our jokes, likes and dislikes are British, French or Portuguese (P4: 779).

According to Phillipson's (1992) view, all this is about linguistic imperialism, where L2 dominates L1 within an exploitative structure. Phillipson maintains that: *'the progressive spread of L2 internationally has implications nationally for the role assigned to it. The dominance of L2 is usually asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between L2 and L1'* (p.85). As discussed in the literature review concerning political power with language, these inequalities at times lead to the continuous allocation of more resources to L2 than L1 legitimated by political ideologies benefiting the élite who can use L2 and those in power (ibid.p.54). The same outcry was very common amongst respondents like T1, T2 and P13. They complained that buying books, study materials and other resources are always allocated first to L2 by the curriculum centre despite many reiterations in official reports of the need to develop L1.

Some respondents such as P3 and P9 argued that many virtues and promises associated with the advocacy for L2 involved a large measure of self-deception. According to some respondents: *L2 has not guaranteed access to modern technology and prosperity for all which was the argument to maintain L2 in our schools. L2, served rather as a boundary-marker between haves and have-nots internally and the link externally to market forces that keeps the former colonies in a position of dependence (P8: 1533).*

Nyerere (1968) reminds us that, with ‘**Uhuru**’ a Swahili word for liberation, Africans aspired to see the end of any form of alienation. They understood ‘**Uhuru**’ as being free to reinstate their linguistic and other cultural values and practices, redevelopment of their creative artistic works, which had been condemned and discouraged by the missionaries in the struggle for evangelisation of the continent. African masses expected an end to regarding their language, songs, dances, and drama as inferior, ‘heathen’ or ‘pagan’ (p.96).

The biggest blame for alienation was strongly put on the Rwandan education system that does not use its influential position to transmit national values but instead acts as the medium of alienation:

Any value interpreted in foreign language is in fact a cultural alienation. And this is the mis-presentation of Rwandan values children constantly get from foreign education (P8: 1550-1551). Values like child disciplining have been confused with child abuse and so no Rwandan élite can dare discipline his or her child today. But child disciplining in Rwanda has never been child abuse oriented. If you do not keep a stern eye on children, the consequences may be very negative (T4: 221-223).

In view of this argument, Mbuagbaw (1984) states that the techno-African is a man of the book, always quoting from it, and quite often he is very unfamiliar with the realities of the African situation because to him, it should be like the book has said and defined. While in an African village, he remembers all what the professors told him and what he read in books. But he does not see the African realities in and around the ‘poor’ looking hut and its occupants, living monuments of African civilisation and living libraries of African culture (p.15).

One respondent from quite an influential office admitted that: *Our use of L2 in schools has created two classes, the élite and the masses, the distinctive marks of total alienation. And this so called civilised class has been unsuccessful in popularising its knowledge and in conveying its importance to the most deprived, to the majority of the population. The rural population expects something from this so-called élite class in their L1, which the élite does not provide. The élite does not approach them, it does not inform them, the gap, I am afraid widens every day (P8: 1596).*

I challenged some of my respondents by pointing out that, according to the Ministry of Education statistics (2001), more than 99% of primary teachers in Rwanda are natives. So how can this so strongly argued alienation issue come about, particularly in schools? This received quite a very interesting explanation from respondents such as P12, T6 and T11. They argue that any book, music, films and drama contain some kind of cultural echo. They either depict national culture of their producers or writers or what we may call today an international culture-that which many people particularly young ones have come to appreciate as their way of life such as: dressing styles, hair-style, type of music etc. And all these are transmitted and sink into the learners' minds through language they use at school-in Rwanda's case L2; French and English.

For a significant number of the respondents, education was interpreted as an aid to promote values in the society: *The purpose of education, I think is to add value to the person you are giving that education. And that value does not have to be European or American (P4: 780). Values help us to know and appreciate our societies and environment (P6: 851). If we do not understand and appreciate our values, then we remain alienated from Rwandans. We call such a person 'Mukosa ka bila' (One without a tribe) (T 15: 1361-1362).*

In short, there seem to be parallels between self-determination and linguistic underdevelopment. The issue at stake here is that the use of L2, in Rwanda and elsewhere in former colonies has prevented L1 from going through the extension of range and repertoire that many European languages went through in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when they became official languages of nation states. The evidence from virtually all former colonies is that the underdeveloped world has consolidated its dependence on the former colonial languages both for external relations and as the dominant language internally (Mateene, 1985). And this linguistic dependence parallels self-determination for people—hence the outcry of alienation.

4.2.CULTURE

4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this category it is ascertained that people are designers of their own life through their customs, rituals, traditions and values and all these are cultural elements. The majority of the respondents echoed the theme of ‘destruction’ of African customs and values in Chinua Achebe’s novels; ‘Things Fall Apart’ (1960) and ‘No Longer at Ease’ (1963). In ‘Things fall Apart’, Achebe demonstrates how colonialism destroyed all African values, customs and traditions and therefore African life ‘fell apart and the centre could no longer hold’. Achebe took further this theme to his next novel ‘No Longer at Ease’ in which he argues that, because what was binding Africans had ‘fallen apart’; Africans were ‘no longer at ease’. The bottom line, according to the respondents such as P9, P10, T2 and T12, is that, since mother tongue is the instrument through which values, traditions and customs are transmitted, its destruction or sabotage through the introduction and use of foreign languages in primary schools must be resisted. One respondent argued that: *Rwandans’ customs and values cannot be maintained without the language that people understand better and appreciate to promote such valuable cultural heritage* (P4: 781).

Bernstein (1996) states that the experience of a speaker is conditioned and differentiated by and through his or her language. Spoken language is a process of processing phenomena and is the major means by which an individual becomes self-regulating. In a similar manner, respondents argue that:

Rwandans should be given freedom to design their own way of life (culture) in their country. But we cannot do this in silence. It must be through our own language that we understand better (T14: 1248).

Culturally and linguistically each word carries a particular meaning. Such words direct and shape the way people live their cultural, social, religious and political lives (T3: 53).

Culture within this study is seen as man-made, confirmed by others, conventionalised and passed on for the young generation to learn. According to Mbuagbaw (1984) culture provides people with a meaningful context in which to meet, to think about themselves and face the outer world. Culture is the means by which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life. Culture is the fabric of meanings in which human beings interpret their experience and guide their actions (p.129).

Respondents are of the view that L1 helps people to interact freely: *Language serves in the interactive process with its various forms, the most obvious of which is verbal. Other forms are signs, symbols, graphs etc. Language is the medium in which all human beings have the facility to communicate ideas, impressions, information, displeasure and warnings (T10: 1853-1854). Because all human beings have the facility of language, they are sentimentally attached to it such that any form of act, suggestion or indication that endangers the existence, worth or value of the language is regarded as a threat to corporate existence (P15: 1904-1906).*

Respondents such as T2, T6 and T11 were of the view that all communities have an inner life, a spiritual dimension which makes them what they are, gives them autonomy and helps them to rise beyond their present to a greater achievement. One respondent categorically stated that: *when I talk of culture and language, I am speaking of the values, which we have, about our place in the world as Rwandans, about the correct relationship between men and women, about the proper ways to behave in conducting the affairs of men and women and our own views of what constitutes our identity (T5: 943-945)*. It is, in the respondents' view, this 'inner life', which constitutes the essence of a community or nation. *All communities and nations to a large extent have common ideals and aspirations; but each of them gives expression to these ideals and aspirations in a different way (P8: 1542-1543)*.

A majority of the respondents argues that: *language is the means through which culture is communicated (T7: 266)*. *When a child is learning the language of its parents (mother tongue), it simultaneously learns the culture of the society to which it is born. Only humans have the biological capacity for language, which allows them to communicate cultural ideas from one generation to the next (T15: 1382)*. Therefore, culture as meaning-making and social responsibility were identified as the properties and will be discussed.

4.2.2. MEANING-MAKING

The majority of the respondents echoed this connection of culture to L1 by relating cultural heritage and maintenance to social practices. Such echoes are enshrined in responses like:

If you analyse different types of greetings we have in Africa, you will see that each portrays a particular society (P8: 1526). *Whereas Rwandan women look on the ground while greeting some one respectable or older than them, Ugandan women kneel down. Whereas Japanese bow while greeting*

as a sign of respect, Rwandans use both hands one on top of another as a sign of respect (T3: 54-55).

There are some experiences one cannot have if one's linguistic competence cannot provide signal or communicative representation, codification and identification of such 'out-of-stock' experiences (T12: 1762).

In the similar manner, Makinde (1988) echoing Bourdieu's habitus, states that there are certain thoughts one cannot have if there are no linguistic tools for their expression. He maintains that: language is a device, a tool, a dynamic human activity, created for certain purposes and serviced by the community of thinkers, in order to protect it from 'degeneracy' or 'corruption' or 'total extinction' (p.2).

The issue of values and customs was indeed very common among the majority of the respondents. One of my questions sought to know exactly how the respondents connected these values to L1.

Like all human beings, Rwandans have a lot of customs and values. Customs like 'diviners' (umuraguzi), last funeral rites (kweru n'okwirabura). By using strong and sacred words and expressions Rwandans perform all these customs (T7: 267-268). Look at the Catholic Church, however liberal the world becomes, the Catholic Church tries to keep Latin as her sacred language (P4: 782).

There was a lot of longing for the lost values in the society due to the western influence on L1. Biologically, all human beings are the same but socially different. And such difference is not innate but socially constructed and nurtured by the society through its values and customs. These views were echoed in a good number of older respondents:

Education should aim at involving values in any kind of educational discourse (T15: 1348). Once children learn to appreciate their social values, they become pillars and parents to the whole nation (T3: 26). Values like: never eat while walking, never interrupt elders while talking, never call adults by their names, never visit without parents' permission all these are transmitted and appreciated through education and mother tongue (P8: 1529).

My counter to this argument was that, since a good number of the respondents I had so far interviewed acknowledged the fact that Rwandan L1 is not well developed and it does not have enough teaching materials and teachers, and their need is to teach values and cultural appreciation, could not these be taught even in L2 to kill two birds with one stone? My argument was strongly opposed for the fact that:

Once we teach in L2, the implication is that we have accepted to learn foreign values. Of course there are good values in every culture, but children can acquire such values at the right time where they go for further studies, travel or for refuge but when they have the basic knowledge of their mother tongue and culture (T7: 303-304). The fact is, language and culture are distinct but not separate (P4: 783). Language structures the things we believe in. A certain language may have many names for a single object and another language may have one for the same object. For instance they say that Eskimos have about twelve different names for snow. This actually shows that whatever has many names; it may be culturally more important to the people who are in that situation (T 15: 1379).

According to Kalembe (1980), every language offers to its speakers a ready-made interpretation of the world, a metaphysical word-picture that, after having originated in the thinking of our ancestors, tends to impose itself ever anew on posterity (p.3). It was quite amazing to discover that respondents extended culture and language even to things such as likes, dislikes and behaviour. And this kind of

interpretation makes them support the use of L1 as the medium of instruction, particularly in subjects like national history, local literature, civics and religion because they represent the cultural heritage and values:

Things like mannerism, behaviour, likes and dislikes differ from a country to a country. And this is culture manifesting itself in a language and behaviour (T 7: 269).

A good number of the respondents ascertained that L1 is integral part to their culture since all the concepts used are actually descriptive of all that is in their culture and Rwandan life in general. Some respondents stated that:

Language defines the concepts used in day today life of people. It describes what we see, and clarifies what we vaguely claim to know and appreciate. Take an example of my name 'Nirere' the direct translation would be 'let God take care of him'. It is symbolic of the situation in which my parents were in before I was born (Many children before me had all died) (T4: 224-228). Language is related to people's culture because culture is the whole garment of people's assimilation, thoughts, and expressions (T 14: 1250-1251).

Therefore, having listened to the respondents' arguments, I would conclude that there are two essential aspects of culture. Firstly, the personality of each community or nation: the various ways in which it expresses its individuality. Secondly, the spiritual dimension: the urge, which all communities and nations have to give their own individual expression of their highest ideals and aspirations. This may differ from a dictionary kind of definition of culture, but culture according to Zigi (1992) is an elusive concept: 'we cannot crystallise it in any particular form of words. All we can do is to get the clearest picture we can of its implications for our own practical life' (p.29).

4.2.3. SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

With my question on whether there is any difference in attitude and views between different genders as far as L1 is concerned, both female and male respondents agreed that there is indeed an attitudinal difference between genders. Respondents such as P13, P15 and T2 argued that in principle, there is a difference in attitude and views about mother tongue between genders particularly amongst the youth today and this difference comes from the mixture of micro (local views) and macro (international views) cultural and linguistic interpretations. In Rwanda the social status for men is much higher than for women and in this way men tend to have more important roles to play during public functions, political rallies, cultural functions, family conflict settlement, etc and all these demand the fluency of mother tongue. According to one respondent: *Boys tend to acquire more vocabularies appropriate for each function in order not to look incompetent before other elders in the future (T 15:1364).*

Kramarae (1984) also acknowledges that women in most African cultures use language differently and hold different attitudes and views from men, who typically hold political, social and economic power. The way women use language is disparaged as illogical (since men define logic according to their own practice). Therefore, according to Kramarae (ibid): women are denied power, since they would not use it well; women tend to get short shrift at all levels; in ordinary conversations they are interrupted and the topics they broach are ignored; in groups they are not called out to speak and if they are, their contributions are unrecognised; women who seek power at the highest level are seen as ‘shrill’, ‘strident’, ‘bitches’ or ‘slaves to raging hormones’ (p.37).

Boys seem to be more interested in L1 with the hope that one day they will have to conduct ceremonies, which we call ‘**imisango**’ in Kinyarwanda, which are related to weddings: It is a question of division of labour. *Even among the élite today, men not women do such ceremonies ‘imisango’. So their attitude to L1 varies according to such exposure (T5: 919).*

The acquisition of specific vocabularies due to division of labour among Rwandans was further clarified:

Girls tend to be with their mothers in the kitchen environment. Here they are faced with the duty of caring for the young ones, cooking, cleaning and general looking after the house. At this stage, the vocabularies in use are those ones, which have something to do with home care since this is considered as a kind of informal education to girls (P7: 1458-1459).

According to many respondents, girls are people who keep travelling from family to family in terms of marriage and are supposed to adapt, speak the new language if they are married to a different ethnic group, enjoy and learn a new subculture, and so get integrated into the new family: *the negative attitude among Rwandan girls is caused by a question of specialisation in their area of work and social responsibility (T7: 310). Boys and girls each put in more effort to learn particular words so as to cope with a given responsibility or new environment. But girls today have started hating this social view about them and developing a negative attitude towards mother tongue through which such unfair treatment is manifested (T9: 1114-1116).* In view of respondents such as T1, T6 and T12, these days such specialisation of responsibility is changing rapidly since women are getting political and social status, which is a kind of revolution. One respondent maintained that: *because of women's equal rights today, they are forced to take a microphone, hold it comfortably and address the public (P7: 1459).*

Respondents conclude that, when boys and girls are still young, they are rarely biased to many things. They just acquire some attitudes that are perpetuated by adults such as specifying areas of responsibility for each sex and some adults who look down upon their L1 like majority of the élite class does. But it is not something innate. So, if their parents have some kind of negative attitude to the mother tongue, of course even children would look down upon their mother tongue. They would think that speaking it is being uncivilised. There is nothing wrong in using one's mother tongue because it

is the language that is more appropriate and people are supposed to be proud of it whether boys or girls.

In short, this section has been trying to make a point that language, communication and culture are all constructed through interaction. In learning through one's mother tongue and cultural values of one's country, development and socialisation take place in stages: through the family, school and work place. Meanings and values are learnt concurrently with language and with continual interaction and revision occurring (Bourdieu, 1992: p.136). With L2 as a medium of instruction, Okumbe (1998) argues, the process is of necessity truncated with many important L1 values omitted or diluted, so that the learning is unlike that of learning through L1 although some values are shared (ibid. p.228)).

4.3. SENSE OF BELONGING

4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

This category demonstrates Rwandans' concept of the sense of belonging to the nation and to each other. Quite a big number of respondents hold the view that having a sense of belonging is clearly demonstrated through the notion of national identity and nationalism. Therefore they feel that: *the education system must of necessity incorporate subjects that can easily promote nationalism in the curriculum (P 6: 847).*

The argument put forward in this section is that identity and nationalism are not just sets of theoretical concepts but they are forces at work in any society. For many respondents: *identity and nationalism are forms of human experience through which Rwandans can interpret their national goals and interests and try to make sense of their lives (P 8: 1531).* National identity and nationalism, according to majority of the respondents: *nurture the nationals' doctrines, images and sentiments about their country and themselves (P4: 716).*

Because the two terms ‘national identity’ and ‘nationalism’ are distinct but not separate, it is important to discuss briefly their difference before I engage in full discussion of what the respondents make of them. According to Smith (1991), in the modern world, national identity represents what may be called the ‘fundamental identity’, the one that is believed to define the very essence of the individual, which the other identities may modify but slightly, and to which they are consequently considered secondary. Smith suggests two models of national identity; a civic–territorial (western model); that emphasises territory, a legal political community, a common culture and a common civic ideology. This is opposed to ethnic–genealogical (non-western) model in which priority is accorded to common descent, ethnicity and blood ties.

According to Smith (ibid) nationalism, too, has three models: first, ethnic nationalism which is very similar to ethnic genealogical model of national identity since both are based on blood ties and common descent and are exclusive. Second, social nationalism is based on shared community, shared culture and social ties. Third, official nationalism is based on legal citizenship, identity or culture. This model is contained within the civic-territorial model of identity. The majority of the respondents stated that:

The mistake made by some people is to think that by demanding the recognition of our identity as Banyarwanda and our national values we are being individualists and racists-no, we are not. We just want our identity and nationality to be respected fully (P4: 717). For us Banyarwanda, we naturally respect people whether foreigners or locals, and this is why we do not want anyone to overlook or minimise our identity as Banyarwanda and our nation. This is why one's nation is called ‘mother land’ and no one can disrespect your mother and you keep quiet. (P6: 842-843).

Respondents seem to agree with Nyerere's (1968) view that nationalism holds the nation together. The resurgence of nationalism over the last few years is hardly surprising: *national identity makes it possible to locate oneself in the world. A native nation is a people of common heritage, language, geography, culture, political system and desire for common association (P8: 1539). National identity is particularly suited to serving as the primary foci of identification, because it is based on belonging not accomplishment (P4: 719).* Therefore national identity and nationalism were identified as the properties and will be discussed.

4.3.2. NATIONAL IDENTITY

To the respondents, language is one of the criteria for identifying people. One of the respondents cited a Rwandan proverb to confirm this point of national identity in terms of language:

In Kinyarwanda we say that 'ululimi lwawe niyo nyawe yawe; meaning that, your mother tongue carries your national identity. For instance, you cannot find my name 'Muhumuza' (relief) in any other tribe around this region. Which implies that 'Muhumuza' is restricted or is typical of Rwandans only. It could have another translation in another language but using different words from Kinyarwanda referring to the same meaning (P6: 838-841).

Quite a number of the respondents argue that there is nothing that can differentiate one person from another as language does. Respondents view even the question of colour and physical appearance as a minor indicator of national identity. *You talk of colour, but there are many people with the same colour and same physical features yet coming from completely different countries (P4: 719).* Though I had promised the respondents that my research results are confidential, still some of them gave a sensitive example of this linguistic difference followed by caution:

I do not want to sound a racist, but this is just for your own research. I hope you will not quote me.

Look at African Americans, they do not even know where they came from but still their accent is different from their fellow white Americans just because of family lineage (P7: 1438-1439). Burundian and Southern Ugandans speak Kinyarwanda but the accent and intonation are completely different. It is only by the language that we cannot go wrong in knowing who you are. Even the way educated and uneducated or peasants speak their mother tongue is different. So all these show you how a language can be used to identify you (T3: 48-51).

This kind of importance accorded to L1 by the respondents prompted me to ask my respondents if there is any other advantage at all apart from being identified as a Rwandan. The response to this question came from many respondents who seem to view L1 in a political sense. According to the respondents, knowing and maintaining L1 can at times pay dividends and contribute to one's success:

In African politics, if you want to be elected as Member of Parliament, you have to go where you were born for nomination. Then you have to prove that you belong to that particular tribal grouping for the electorate to have confidence in you, and therefore you have to speak their local language. So, mother tongue is the first indicator of who you are since it identifies your origin. Though there are those who can speak it when they are not native speakers, just listen to their accent and you will definitely know (P7: 1446-1447).

Apart from such advantages that accrue from knowing one's L1, substantial reasons were given concerning preferences and character formation through L1:

A Language makes part of your personality. That is why the way you use a language reveals your character (P8: 1536). Children imitate their teachers in the process of learning. So the correct and professional use of L1 would help the children imitate the right way of speaking the language and

*consequently improve their personality (P 6: 820). By speaking our L1 we indirectly reveal our inner being. You cannot separate words from your spiritual and intellectual being. Your being a Rwandan depends very much on your mother tongue (T13: 616). What you say shows your dislikes or likes and what is being revealed is nothing else but your identity. Banyarwanda say that 'what is in your heart is known by your mouth and makes you what you are', (**Akari kumutima gasesekara ku munwa kandi nicyo wowe**) (P7: 1441).*

Quite a number of Rwandans still suffer from identity crisis and one of the causes is the big number of returnees in the country that came from all the corners of the world in millions where they lived over 40 years of exile. The majority of young people amongst the returnees cannot speak Kinyarwanda, among those who try - there is much code switching. The local population considers such people as not true Rwandans, owing to their incapacity to speak L1. They quite often give them many nicknames that reflect a country where each group came from.

A nickname like '**abaso**' (where the last two letters 'so' show the English linking word 'so' since people who came from Anglophone countries like Uganda, Kenya often use the word 'so' through code switching) was cited. Then those who came from Zaire are nicknamed '**bolingo**', which is a Zairian word common in their popular African music meaning 'love' from a local lingua Franca called '**lingala**'. This identity crisis is a clear demonstration of the heavy task the government has to help her nationals regain the sense of identity and accept each other as Rwandans. For respondents such as T1, P9 and P15 the only way to do this is by emphasising L1 policy in schools for the future generation to get a firm foundation in their language.

Having heard this kind of view from many respondents, I had to ask the next remaining respondents what really causes all these differences among Rwandans to the extent of creating some divisive names for fellow Rwandans. It is amazing that the response was the same from both the returnees and the locals. During the interview, respondents such as T11, P3 and P10 echoed the feeling that once you are born and bred in a foreign country, indeed your language and all your mannerism, behaviour, likes and dislikes would be typical of that very society not the country of your origin. And what causes this is the language of social interaction.

At this stage a lot of emotions surfaced when respondents were describing their experiences in diaspora when they could not speak their L1 due to political and social reasons. In spite of having stayed for quite a long time in countries of exile with some actually having been born there and having acquired both linguistic and social behaviour of those countries, they could not be accepted as true nationals. According to the respondents: *many Rwandans during their life in diaspora tried to mix with local population. But the accent in the local languages of the host countries always betrayed us (P7: 1428). Those days of diaspora, whenever it could come to elections and political appointments, the local people would easily tell who was a true national and who was not (T 15: 949).*

4.3.3. NATIONALISM

In the view of the respondents, L1 has: *emotional attachments that make you feel closer to your spiritual being. There is something about mother tongue, which I do not think any other language can have (P7: 1443).*

Many respondents gave substantial reasons to explain their views on how L1 is an influential factor in terms of nationalism. Respondents are of the view that: *there are many factors, which can constitute a nation or territory such as: culture, religion, history, or race, but the language and shared descent are by far the most important (P7: 1446-1447).* According to Mutua (1992), the construction of the self,

which for human beings derives from and is constructed through language, means that human individuals can be conscious not only of themselves but also of the selves of others. The shared communication through language members of the group makes possible the moulding of each individual's behaviour and attitudes and the transmission of structures of ideas about the society of which they form part (p.174).

In any interview, according to Strauss et al. (1990), clarity of reasons behind any argument is paramount for the researcher to clearly know why respondents are saying what they are saying. With this in mind, I asked my respondents to clearly tell me how really L1 is connected to nationalism. Quite a large number of the respondents answered this question with double emphasis on the importance of L1:

To deny children a chance of studying in mother tongue in short is to encourage them to neglect the very nation to which they belong. This very nationalism is the one that forces policy makers to advocate mother tongue as a medium of instruction in schools, particularly in primary schools to help our young people maintain their linguistic purity and sanctity (P4: 787). Kinyarwanda is so important to our unity and reconciliation after the genocide because at least we can use all its sentimental and emotional appeal to unite our people (P7: 1449). L1 is a language we are born with and the first social element we come in contact with. So it is our sort of bond as Banyarwanda. It is a vehicle for nationalism for Rwandans particularly because we have only one language throughout the country unlike many other African countries (T14: 1227-1229).

I went on to ask if there is any pride derived from being identified through L1? The answer to this question revealed very strong emotions from the majority of the respondents:

Language is sensational and emotional. It touches the carrier of the country's most sensitive element, that is, nationalism. Because of this, language becomes so important in terms of our day-to-day associations (P6: 822). It is so important to make language the cement of our nationalistic feelings and pride since it is through language that we profess rather than hide where we originate and who we are (T14: 1312-1313).

Here L1 is interpreted as a source of status and strength to people's nationalism since language works as a bond among people. It unifies and stirs up the feelings of oneness and togetherness among people. This is why if you speak any foreign language in the African village they give you names like 'muzungu' meaning 'a white man' or 'I know more' implying that someone is too proud of academic knowledge. Quite strong feelings, emotions and attachment about L1 and deep explanation on how L1 is a source of pride is clearly seen in this extensive quotation:

*With mother tongue, the people's true self is clearly demonstrated (T3: 30). When you speak Kinyarwanda, you feel some kind of pride within you of being what you are. It reveals a kind of pride that you would love to maintain. L1 gives a sense of belonging, motherhood, and brotherhood, sisterly, fraternity and so when you speak mother tongue you feel linked to those who speak it (P8: 1602-1604). Speaking L1 is a psychological healing especially when you are outside your country (T9: 1173). We say in Kinyarwanda that, 'you must love your poor and shanty house more than the big and superb hotel you have ever lived in' **akazu gatoya ewanyu batuyemo ujye ugakunda kurusha ihoteri nziza wigeze gucumbikamo** (T3: 16). Look around the world, any group of people who have ever lost their*

mother tongue or culture whether through refugee, slavery or by any other means are never satisfied. At times Rwandans in Diaspora could be forced to hide their nationality and language through using names from the local community for survival. But this did not solve the problem; in fact it worsened the situation because it made individuals gradually feel guilty of self-deception (P4: 788).

In essence, what the respondents are actually advocating is a national philosophy. There is a need for an openness to tell children that they may learn foreign languages for international relations and development, but to remain Rwandans should be a key factor in Rwanda's educational aims and objectives. Though Kiswahili was not originally and traditionally a mother tongue for Tanzania and Kenya, later it became to be so. All Tanzanians and a good percentage of Kenyans now speak Swahili as their mother tongue particularly among young people born after Independence in 1963. In situations where societies are multiethnic, nationalism would be problematic because the question of which mother tongue to use would come in (Mazrui, 1997). This is why former colonies decided to drop mother tongues and instead have a national or official language such as English or French that existed alongside the local languages. One respondent brought in the philosophy of 'I-THOU' relationship(an emphasis on communal dependence and social responsibility) arguing that, through L1 the community demonstrates its interest in an individual's well being:

There are two most important elements in one's life; ' who you are and how you are'. That is why 'how' is the most common word in any form of greeting whether in African language or Western. This means that the community in which you live is interested in your well being using their mother tongue to strengthen this relationship. So to overlook or deny your self this chance of communal sense of care and responsibility is committing a social suicide (T15: 1390-1391).

One respondent went further to advocate some subjects that must be taught in L1 at least to maintain L1 touch: *It is a prerequisite to teach subjects like current affairs and civics in schools, but with positive values, aims and objectives that do not entertain sectarianism. This would help the citizens a lot in terms of seeing themselves as one people (T5: 923-925).*

In conclusion, however, the respondents accept that Rwanda cannot perhaps manage to do everything in L1 from the onset the way Asians did, though there are a number of things that they can do to develop mother tongue and nationalism. According to them, this depends on how the curriculum is designed. *If the curriculum is designed in such a way that a number of hours allocated to both L2 and L1 are equal, or that L1 be taught as a subject up to the end of high school then there is no problem (T10: 559).*

4.4. PEDAGOGY

4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this category the respondents express the pedagogical importance for children to begin schooling in L1. Actually many respondents echo the fundamental ideas of Bourdieu (1977) concerning L1 education. As discussed in literature review (Chapter Two), Bourdieu states that each person is schooled in a language both inside and outside schooling. The factor that creates unequal esteem for different types of linguistic capital and their academic market value is in the distance between the practical mastery of language that is transmitted by the home and the community, and the symbolic mastery that is demanded by the school. Bourdieu states that, along with obvious properties of language, like its syntax, sounds and vocabulary, human beings acquire through socialisation certain attitudes towards languages and their use, which provide criteria for judgements about which styles, and forms of expression seem superior to others.

Respondents such as T8, P5 and P10 are of the view that starting with mother tongue in school helps children open up their minds using what they come with at school from their home experiences since their minds at that age are still developing the cognitive aspect. In upper classes at least students are a little bit more mature and able to handle L2 lessons, but for primary children, they need something they are acquainted with. One respondent stated that: *any human being perceives and interprets whether academic or general knowledge according to his or her social background and experiences (T15: 1336)*. Therefore, perception and cognitive aspects were the properties identified in this section and they will be discussed.

4.4.2.PERCEPTION

Respondents raised strongly the issue of children's academic and social acquisition of realities through L1 particularly in lower primary school. They argue that:

Children enter school, which allows them to make full use of what they already learnt. They do not begin from scratch. Links with their life in the community throughout the years of schooling are more easily maintained than if most schools use a language different from that of the community, especially for the rural children (T4: 164-165). L1 allows the participation of parents and members of the community in education as well as the participation of senior pupils in the life of the community (P6: 823).

Pedagogical reasons were put forward by a good number of the respondents: *Pedagogically, most of children's cultural understanding and early experiences are connected to mother tongue and this in the end does influence their perception of realities as they grow up (T15: 1380)*. *If children learn in mother tongue for a longer time, it would make the concepts learnt at school easily understood to the*

children because foreign languages make some of the concepts harder, which would have been easier if you were to use mother tongue (P7: 1447).

In line with respondents' arguments, Kiggundu (1999) talks of giving pupils an opportunity to re-order their pictures of the world in relation to new ideas and experiences. Motsi (1996) also ascertains that L1 is the language we use for the 'first draft of our thinking' for making explicit to ourselves 'an insight partly intuited' (p.108). Some respondents such as T1 and T12 look at L1 as an expressive language, a language of children's own private amusing, their inner reflection upon their experiences that serve both to bring their common sense concepts to the point of engagement with scientific concepts and to carry out the reconciliatory interpretation.

For the respondents, L1 is the language through which children develop their own way of understanding and make knowledge they acquire at school their own. It is, according to the respondents, crucial to the process of conceptualisation of which many Rwandan children are incapable due to the forced learning in L2. Reheema (1999) reminds us that, expressive and exploratory languages are already in the learner's language repertoires. Therefore to ignore them when children are seeking further to expand their repertoire or when teachers are introducing learners to new ideas and concepts in terms of subject content, is both wasteful and inefficient (p.203).

Respondents between 25 and 35 years of age studied under the policy of studying in L1 in primary school while the older ones, from 35 to 60, studied in L2. But both groups gave the same explanation about starting their primary school in L2. According to the respondents:

The lack of vocabulary to use or fear of making grammatical error hinders the most crucial teacher-to-student dialogical approach (T14: 1238). It is through dialogical interaction that pupils ask questions and get answers in a dialogical atmosphere using local examples they enjoy demonstrating the answer (T7: 340).

Respondents stated that: *we were afraid to speak in L2 and were always nervous and confused when asked a question in L2 in class (T9: 1097-1098).* The respondents totally rejected my view that usually kids are ready to learn in any language and are confident since they are very eager to learn new language. For the respondents' experiences with L2 in class were mixed with fear: *we were always afraid of being laughed at by our peers (T7: 320). We would skip classes or sit in the last row to avoid the humiliation or embarrassment of being called upon to speak (T14: 1223-1224).*

From this argument, we need to understand language learning not only as a process of acquiring linguistic rules or participating in communication activities, but also as a process in which individual learners are constantly putting themselves in the vulnerable position of having their own self-concept undermined and subjecting themselves to negative evaluations. This process is stressful and is likely to generate much anxiety in the learners.

Guiora (1983) describes second language learning as a 'profoundly unsettling psychological proposition' (p.138). Language classroom anxiety is a wide spread phenomenon which Horwitz (1986) describes as 'a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process. The uniqueness of language learning lies in the fact that learners are required to perform in a language that they are still trying to master (p.211). Rubagumya (1994) points out that, 'any performance in the L2 is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence,

self-consciousness, fear, or even panic. When communicating in a language in which they are not fluent, learners cannot help but feel that they are not fully representing their personality and their intelligence' (p.179).

The uniqueness of language learning also lies in the fact that learners are much more vulnerable to criticisms and negative evaluations than in other subjects as clearly indicated by the respondents. This is true because the chances of making mistakes in the language are much greater. A learner may get the right answer in terms of the content but wrong in terms of form and pronunciation. Many respondents claimed that:

Due to many unqualified teachers in Rwanda, many teachers attach the correctness of the language to correctness of the answer (P7: 1449). Learners see the constant error correctness they receive from teachers as a form of being less intelligent and with this usually humiliation follows (P6: 859).

Nsubuga (2002) maintains that speaking in class is perceived by black students as 'high -risk, low-gain' because they believe that anything they say may be held against them because of language incompetence. Horwitz (1986) supports this idea too. He states that speaking problem was the most frequently cited cause of concern for anxious L2 learners at the University of Texas. The issue of fluency and idea development is another main concern connected to the dangers of learning in L2. In line with this, many respondents stated that:

There are a lot of differences in linguistic and grammatical structures of Kinyarwanda as a Bantu language and Western languages, yet primary school is the foundation of education. Here the issues of phonetics and idea development in a language come in (T15: 1369). It is too difficult for children born and bred in rural environment without any sound of English or French around them to catch up properly with their counterparts in city schools (P6: 833). Idea development too goes and is

influenced by the environment, culture and one's context. Without putting these into consideration, brings the half-baked and semi-literate school leavers we usually get at the end of school life (T4: 166-167).

Benjamin Whorf states that language is a system of related categories that both incorporates and perpetuates a particular worldview. On the lexical level, every language codes certain domains of experience in more detail than others. It has been suggested that when a given language symbolises a phenomenon in a single word, it is readily available as a classifying principle to speakers of that language. Anglin (1974) states that, although any familiar experience can be coded in any language through simple expedient of paraphrase, experiences that must be expressed in this way are supposed to be less available to speakers of the language. In line with this view, some respondents expressed similar ideas:

There are many ideas that you can convey in L1 more successfully than you can in L2 (T15: 1338). I believe some of the linguistic flavours of an idea are more fully conveyed in L1 than in L2. For instance, if you translate some L1 proverbs or idioms into L2, the meaning becomes too dry, they lose the originality and you cannot really get the true picture (T 3: 60-61).

4.4.3. COGNITIVE

The cognitive aspect was another highly contested issue among the respondents. One respondent stated that learning in L1 has something to do with cognitive capacity: *starting with mother tongue in school helps children open up their minds since their minds at that age are still developing the cognitive aspect (T14: 1204).*

It is widely believed by researchers of bilingual and multilingual education (such as Cummins, 1979, Saville 1991, Anstrom 1997) that a unitary cognitive academic proficiency, that is thinking skills, underlies all language performance, and may be expressed equally through either an L1 or L2. This cognitive academic proficiency is developed primarily through L1 in the early years, and may then be transferred to and expressed in an L2 later on. If a learner's L1 remains undeveloped, then so does that learner's cognitive ability. Thus, when that learner attempts to acquire L2 and pursue studies through the medium of L2, that learner will bring a lower cognitive academic proficiency to the task and be disadvantaged. In line with this argument, some respondents stated that:

When pupils begin learning, they do not start learning all over again, but interpret meanings in terms of what they already know-not just about language, but about the context in which it is being used, and about strategies for social interaction (T14: 1239-1240). All learning should start from the known to the unknown. And this is a pedagogical phenomenon. In this way, the chances for children to familiarise and relate concepts that are taught in mother tongue are higher than if they had to deal first with foreign language struggling with new concepts (T3: 41-42). If you were to understand lessons in foreign language, then you must be well versed in that foreign language (P 6: 834).

The point made by the respondents is that: *it is very difficult to avoid thinking and interpreting things in one's L1 because L1 carries all aspects of social, moral, ethical or economic life (T3: 43).* So children need to have a language that is comfortable for them to learn and express concepts. Saville (1991) states that the development of particular lexical items or syntactic structures in the L1 does not appear to be the important factor in the development of general cognitive academic ability as such. Rather, it is the higher order mental strategies, sometimes called 'thinking skills', developed and implemented through L1 initially, which can be transferred into L2, and improve academic achievement in and through L2. This idea was clearly voiced by many respondents:

We first of all think in our language and then translate and in this process, we sometimes lose the core of our expressions and meaning. This means that learning in the second language will retard children's capacity to grasp what they are learning since they will have to think first in their mother tongue using their early local experiences they went through (T15: 1357). The basic skills that children in primary school need are reading and writing skills because it is on these two that they build their comprehension of other discourse. These skills however, need a language that children understand better in order not to over stretch their young cognitive capacity or else they hate the school altogether (T5: 912-914).

Cummins (1979) suggests that this idea of developing children's learning through L1 needs to be understood in the light of communicative-cognitive distinction. This kind of misconception, according to Cummins (ibid), comes from not accepting the fact that 'basic interpersonal communication skills' (BICS) is not the most necessary factor for successful studies. In fact, cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) is more needed for successful studies than 'BICS'. 'BICS' is embedded in rich linguistic and paralinguistic contexts such as facial expressions and repetitions. This is useful in social communicative situations but it does not represent full proficiency in a language enough to take up studies in L2. Without 'CALP', a learner pursuing studies in L2 is seriously disadvantaged. Unfortunately, Cummins laments, teachers quite often tend to concentrate disproportionately on 'BICS' and neglect 'CALP' yet 'CALP' is more important for academic success.

Respondents echoed such a misconception too: *our élite class see their children comfortably interacting in L2 in a relaxed manner and social context with expatriate pupils in private and international schools, and conclude that their children are intelligent and are ready to take full-scale education programme through L2 (P8: 1606-1608). Thinking that the more fluent a child is, the readier he/she is to study in L2 is an academic suicide (T3: 44).*

Respondents such as T1, T11 and P9 strongly argued that when we are born in this world, we are without any recognizable cognitive mental functions and we are unable to distinguish the different objects in our environment that we sense. But as our minds develop, this cognitive function becomes ever stronger, primarily through the vehicle of words of the language we understand better. We create names for objects and so we are able to distinguish them. One respondent categorically stated that: *our entire system of self-identity is built upon the superstructure of names that categorise and divide everything into the separate forms and aspects of our existence, including our own self-existence (T11: 1759)*. Abimbola (1976) states that the accumulation of identifications and associations in words constitutes our body of knowledge and sense of self. Cognitive ability is crucial in our mental development. Good reading and writing skills, Abimbola continues: ‘are essential in the development of a critical thinking mind, and in opening up the doors of knowledge to the world we live in’ (p.1).

Connected to this cognitive argument is the issue of technical terms. Respondents argue that: *on top of a cognitive problem, other stumbling blocks to Rwandan children’s learning are new technical terms and notions in L2 that cannot find the equivalent in L1 (T14: 1232-1233)*. *There are some linguistic structures, expressions, and academic aspects that students can understand better in their mother tongue than in the foreign language. So in such cases, you take recourse to your mother tongue that will help you to express and understand the concepts easily (P8: 1551)*. *It is common in rural schools with few facilities like a library to find both students and teacher failing to understand a particular word, concept or expression (T 9: 1097)*.

All in all, respondents seem to favour the common underlying proficiency model (CUP) of bilingual/multilingual education whereby if cognitive academic proficiency is developed through L1, that same well-developed proficiency is then available to and through L2. When ‘CUP’ fails to be

developed sufficiently through L1 when L2 education begins too early, cognitive academic achievement is hindered.

4.4.4. EDUCATION SYSTEM

Looking across the data, most of the respondents shift all Rwandan educational problems to Rwanda's educational policy. Demonstrating the importance of L1, not only in academic issues but also in social and human rights dimensions, respondents give quite a good number of reasons to support this argument:

Rwanda education system since Independence, has not only failed to develop our mother tongue through curriculum, but also has enlarged the gap between the educated and non-educated by creating a class of the few élite. This, in fact, has contributed to Rwanda's economic underdevelopment (T15: 1401). Look around the world; people who learn in their mother tongues such as Japanese, Koreans, leave alone Europeans and Americans, are the ones who are making a lot of advancement technologically. There is a connection between technological, economic and language development (T9: 1105-1106). We can teach in our mother tongue and then have enough hours to teach foreign languages for international relations (P4: 729).

A majority of the respondents points to the Rwandan educational system as a serious threat to Rwandan society. They argue that: *in Rwandan traditional society boys and girls were prepared for life by being informed about marriage, sex and family life and all these could be done in a language that everyone understands. But today most of our Kinyarwanda marital, sex and family words sound 'obscene' to our young people. Hence no attention is paid to such aspects of life within the modern educational system in Rwanda (P13: 1691-1692).* Kisanji (1996) states that post-colonial governments still use this modern, western-based educational system for a set of reasons:

- *Political leaders themselves are successful products of western education.*
- *The tendency to think that schooling leads to economic growth.*
- *Education is free for all citizens as far as feasible; priority is with the academic well performing pupils.*
- *The curriculum concentrates on academic only, striving to get the students paid jobs in government or business through secondary and tertiary education.*

Furthermore, respondents strongly associated this denial of L1 in education with the poor reading and writing culture among Rwandans: *The easiness with which you have when reading and writing in your mother tongue, gives you more courage to read and I am sure that is why many Rwandans lack the culture of reading and writing whereas their counterparts in the west have it in their blood (P7: 1455-1456).*

I challenged my respondents that Rwandan children only study in L1 for only three years of lower primary school, the rest of the years being in L2. How can children spend more than half of primary school, the whole of secondary and high school, then the university learning in L2 and still claim not to be at ease with L2? My question was answered by very pragmatic examples:

Language is not like subjects such as history or geography that children can wake up one day before the exam day, read the notes and cram them and write examinations. No, a language is like mathematics; it needs constant and daily practice both at home and at school. And unfortunately, we do not have that foreign language environment advantage (P7: 1434-1436). There is no way our children can compete with their counterparts in the west because that is their mother tongue, they speak it at home, at work, in pubs, and children play in it. So they have more advantages and flavour in their language than you the second speaker (T15: 1354-1355).

Because of this lack of linguistic environment, as indicated in the literature review, UNESCO passed a resolution way back in 1953 that children should be taught in their mother tongues in the first three years of their schooling. In fact one respondent went to say that:

For me as a teacher, I support this policy not only for three years but also for the whole primary school to give pupils a strong foundation in their language. Otherwise children become frustrated in their studies (T 7: 306). In the similar manner, South African language policy (1995) put it that:

We envisage a time when all education institutions will be implementing multilingual education, in order to facilitate learning and to enable all students to be confident, proficient and fluent users of at least two South African languages. In moving towards this, we shall be building on the linguistic strengths of learners and teachers, harnessing the rich multilingual reality of South Africa for effective education and for effective participation in social, political and economic development (1995, p.45).

As pointed out in the literature review (Chapter Two), curriculum is an important part of education as a whole. The respondents too put the language issue within the context of curriculum. One argued that:

L1 across curriculum is one way of getting a very strong background in L1 because language is not only used to talk about linguistic rules and grammar but also other subjects across the curriculum. This is more important than learning L1 just as a language since learners get a chance of applying their linguistic rules and techniques (T14: 1253-1256).

More examples demonstrating the importance of L1 in contextualising subjects were cited: *it is a terrible injustice done to the country for subjects like African history, local literature, civics and local history to be taught in a foreign language (P6: 848). Children lose all the aims and objectives of*

getting the contextual framework of their social and experiential life because the foreign language has devalued such subjects (T4: 168).

In a nutshell, this section clearly echoes Cornwell's idea (1996) that the use of L1 'lies at the heart of local empowerment and grassroots development', something which socio-linguists in Africa have stressed for a long a time (see also Derven and Webb, 1992). It is obvious, however, that if L1 is to play a meaningful role in development in Rwanda, it will be necessary to adapt it so that it can perform the functions it will be expected to perform. This adaptation, of course, would involve the technicalisation of Kinyarwanda as well as its general revalorisation, that is, its social promotion, so that it increasingly becomes regarded as an instrument of value, an instrument with which important tasks can be performed, such as its use in high status public functions and domains e.g. at all levels of education. There is also a need for more relevant teaching of Kinyarwanda as L1 of Banyarwanda, and its increasing sociolinguistic diversification, which will signal its appropriateness as a dynamic communicative tool.

However, revalorisation is a long-term task, which is directly linked to positive socio-economic transformation of a country and Rwanda is still far from an economic take off. In addition to the promotion of Kinyarwanda as a language, the excessive demand and expectations of L2, particularly English, in Rwanda today to share in global advantages has to be considered. All these have to be dealt with cautiously so that there is a kind of **trade off** among Rwandans.

4.5. POST COLONIAL TIMES

4.5.1. INTRODUCTION

Having heard many views from many respondents condemning and attributing all Rwandan linguistic, social, economic and educational stagnation to the use of L2 as a medium of instruction and other areas of social life, I could hardly expect to hear many positive views from the respondents as far as L2 as a medium of instruction is concerned in Rwanda. Hence the results for this category were rather a surprise to me. Although it was on condition that L1 is given enough attention in the curriculum, the numbers of respondents that support the use of L2 as a medium of instruction far exceeded that of advocating the removal of L2 as a medium of instruction. The majority of these were teachers who differed from politicians' views mainly in terms of economic and global affairs. The main concern for teachers was particularly on young people's future:

I really support and respect our mother tongue and I can do anything to see it not to become extinct, but not to retard our economic development by concentrating on it. What we need is a fertile ground for our children or else they will be defeated internationally (T13: 671). Young Rwandans today like any other young people elsewhere, think in terms of jobs and personal marketability. And they know quite well that they will not be marketable if they are not competitive and competent like their international counterparts (T 10: 439). If you listen to young people today, all their dreams are about working in international organisations, private companies and how can they realise their dreams if we who are supposed to be their torch bearers persist on our traditions and emotions about mother tongue. Today the world is becoming small and many nations are trying to come closer to unification for stronger cooperation (T5: 961-963).

Therefore globalisation and economic development were identified as the properties and will be discussed.

4.5.2. GLOBALISATION

For respondents, beyond the adjectival sense of belonging to the international community not restricted to any one country, globalisation immediately evokes the image of privileged people: *our people also need to live in any part of the world without hindrance, enjoy high-tech life of developed nations too, get mobility to travel, and chance for personal advancement (T9: 1140). Why should we be limited because of a language (T5: 972).* In this point, respondents are stressing what Brennan (1990) calls ‘the need to be trans-national intellectuals seeking out and adopting a reflexive meta-cultural stance to divergent cultural experiences’ (p.157).

Here, mastering L2 is interpreted as a way of avoiding international isolation that can easily keep them in perpetual poverty: *As long as we can develop our L1, it is enough; we do not have necessarily to learn in it (P6: 882). If we train our children in L1 only and they do not master L2 their employability skills are limited (T5: 971). The use of L2 is utility oriented since such languages translate to money, jobs, international friends, and further studies abroad, and travelling widely (T13: 672). What we need is an education that can help us to match with an international standard. If we want to be where other people are, we have to prepare for it seriously for our children not to be the black sheep of the international community (P8: 1582-1583).*

The main objective of globalisation according to the respondents is to liberate Rwandans to pursue a long-term process of trans-local connecting that is both economic and educational. And in the midst of the short-term politico-educational crisis in Rwanda, globalisation can help in a teaching of culture capable of mobilising the energy and enthusiasm of a broad front of Rwandans who are not anti-development. According to Brennan (1990) living under the umbrella of an international community demands tolerance and secularism, an international competence or mode of citizenship that is the monopoly of no one. It answers the charges of ‘particularism’ and ‘loss of standards’, insisting

confidently that sharing international life is a common programme, a critical programme, a positive ideal of interconnected knowledge and pedagogy, that elevates rather than lowers existing educational standards (p.142).

In line with this argument, a good number of the respondents highlighted their disapproval of the former government's education and social policy that restricted students to learn only in L1 in primary school and resulted in many school dropouts due to linguistic incapacity:

Learning in L1 for the whole of primary school introduced by the former government in late 70s, was disastrous. This was a kind of political move to keep as many Rwandan students as possible out of politics by making them fail high schools and hence could not join university education (T9: 1108-1109). Habyalimana's education system could not allow students to prepare themselves for the future adventures and this myopic situation put Rwanda into a pandemonium state where we do not have well trained people for specific professions simply because this was not planned (T10: 462). Sticking to mother tongue, good as it might be, it can have many negative consequences for the nation at large. We have to stop nursing the colonial hatred but face the reality on the ground (T13: 673).

Respondents went further to connect L2 to Rwanda's present very strong desire to join the East African Community and the need to prepare young people for it: *geographically Rwanda stands a better chance to benefit from using L2. It is an economic point of view, a communication point of view, and a location point of view (T5: 951). L2 is useful to our country to open up possibilities for Rwandans to try their luck within the coming East African Community and beyond. That is why in spite of the policy to teach in L1 in the first three years of primary, the scenario is different when it comes to metropolitan, private and known good schools in the country. First of all they accommodate pupils from all backgrounds, secondly, they look forward to the future mobility of these children, so they have to introduce them to international languages (P8: 1592-1594). If children learn in L1 and*

cannot really be free with L2, they would become disadvantaged because they would face problems of integration in the regional and universal kind of life (T10: 428).

The point made here is that Rwandans should be talking of the world becoming a global village and therefore there is no need for issues of nationalism without international cooperation. Capacity to switch on to another language to fit in the society is seen as the way forward. Global fellowship and competition can only be realised by learning foreign languages thereby confronting the international competition. As an example to concretise their point, some respondents cited English language: *After the fall of USSR, if you do not know English today, you are a social, economic and development prisoner (T9: 1146). English is dominating not only the former colonies but also other developed countries because of business, information technology and media being dominated by America and Britain. If we do not dance to this tune and just dream of mother tongue, we shall even lose the few steps we have gone ahead (P 7: 1478-1479).*

In the similar manner, Rikowski (2001) argues that, the World Trade Organisation education agenda is to facilitate the penetration of education services by corporate capital. The key WHO agreement for this purpose is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). This agreement incorporates the aim of unleashing progressive liberalisation of trade in services, including public services such as education. In the long run, Rikowski maintains, no country or area of social life is exempted from these development.

4.5.3.ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Coulmas (1992), Grin (1997) and Stanton (1992) extensively studied the question of language and economy at the international level. According to these researchers, in a market system, which seems to be the direction in which Rwanda is struggling to move, it is not possible for the government to prescribe language policy to business and industry. It is instead necessary for the government to

encourage business and industry to contribute to the development of a multilingual culture. Language has a vital role in economic activity on at least three levels, namely the transfer of information/knowledge, interpersonal relations, and as an economic resource. This is directly in line with many respondents' views on information and the importance of L2 today in Rwanda:

The modern world of business is to a large extent dependent on the management of information (T13: 1267). Without meaningful access to information and ability to convey information effectively, which of course involves the capacity to understand and use foreign languages effectively, the economic development cannot really take place (T15: 1366).

Related to this aspect is the role of interpersonal communication, which is basic to training, productivity and competitiveness, as well as management. Respondents came up with strong commercial reasons as to why L2 must be used:

Comparing Rwanda to Asian countries in terms of using L1 is being economically and socially blind. Rwanda is one of the worst land-locked countries. Our goods have to go through two or more countries before they come to Rwanda from the sea. And all these countries; Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire and Uganda speak either English or French. So, the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction is just an uncalculated idea (T9: 1133-1135). It is absolutely necessary that poor as we are, our administration, management and workers fully understand international and economic needs, views, attitudes and preferences of today. This is particularly important if we were to improve on our business concerns, where communication is multi-dimensional (T5: 1029-1031). Sharing foreign languages particularly English is important in promoting new values, norms, feelings of trust and ownership among Rwandan workers (P6: 883).

My question using the issue of decolonising Africa using L1 as suggested by Ngugi, met a very critical response from many respondents: *Knowing foreign language gives an individual a possibility and sufficient exposure and actually grows up into a full human being capable of managing his or her environment whether educational, economic or political (T9: 1135-1136). If you just stick to your mother tongue you are like a prisoner. People need to make contacts internationally. Look at the things like Internet; it is all founded in English (P10: 429). Our colonisers used their language as an instrument to colonise us and get what they wanted. So if we want to change the past, we must also know their language very well and their life in general so that we can shape the future by knowing the people we are competing with. Otherwise the advocacy of L1 use in education is just an ideological and political stance Ngugi, Chinua, Mazrui and other African political writers hold (T5: 1042-1044).*

Furthermore, respondents argue that learning in foreign languages would avoid producing half-baked graduates who cannot compete internationally. There is a need to work and communicate with the rest of the world. The economy today is knowledge-based exporting skills in terms of human resource. It is clear from these arguments that knowledge and economic development should be separated from linguistic emotions, sensations, and nationalistic tendencies.

Respondents are not destroying the value of L1 as such but they are sending a signal for the disadvantages that might accrue from relying on L1 alone-hence a need to strike a compromise in terms of **trade offs**. Because of a long political and economic suffering, Rwandans are looking forward to overcoming those bad days by working with other nations, the trend even stronger nations are advocating. Full of emotions, one respondent gave a Kinyarwanda proverb that demonstrated the strong determination for the future: **'Imfubyi ibaga yotsa'** (T5: 989). The literary meaning is that **'an orphan slaughters an animal while roasting some of the meat at the same time'**. The implication is that an orphan, as a symbol of poverty and helplessness, should use the little opportunity s/he gets since s/he does not have many of them. And so are Rwandans today, they have to use the

chance of economic liberalisation around the world by working with stronger nations without wasting time by concentrating on one item of mother tongue development.

In conclusion, according to Rumpus (1997), foreign language learning can be a positive experience. For students, it is an introduction to an international identity that is defined through the L2. This idea of personal growth and social confidence is what motivates foreign language learners through increased communicative competence. Rumpus maintains that L2 comes with employability skills required by employers today. Languages, according to Rumpus, have always had a leading position in this area. Communication skills are therefore instrumental, in that they help achieve goals; and are integrative by promoting interpersonal relations. So, graduates with these attributes have something to offer the world of work. Therefore in Rwanda's case, a comfortable setting is needed for L2 learning to increase learners' curiosity and interest.

4.6. LANGUAGE STRUCTURE

4.6.1. INTRODUCTION

This category is another area of surprise. Here, teachers expressed strong contradictory views to the government's views about L1 as the better option for a medium of instruction in primary schools. In spite of a few teachers' support for L1 for academic purposes, the majority of teachers preferred L2 to L1 as the best medium of instruction right from primary one on the basis of Rwanda's current language situation and linguistic differences between Bantu and Western languages:

It is quite evident that Rwanda cannot manage to do any of her studies in mother tongue at any level particularly in this post genocide era. The influx of returnees from all over the world in millions demystifies the dream of using mother tongue as a medium of instruction in Rwandan primary schools (T13: 658). On top of French, which was used as the official language, then came English on the scene to cater for the returnees from Anglophone countries (T9: 1124). All these returnees either know a

little bit of Kinyarwanda or do not know it at all, particularly young people below thirty years of age who were born in exile. The most amazing thing is that, when they returned, they all went to different parts of the country (T5: 979).

The respondents argue that, on top of Kinyarwanda having been not developed enough for teaching purposes, there is serious lack of motivation, qualified teachers and lack of academic materials. Once children can be equipped with up-to-date academic materials and qualified teachers, children have no problem with mastering any language at an early stage. The issue of Kinyarwanda having none of its own literature is another serious concern for the respondents:

The little Kinyarwanda literature available is mixed up with French methodological and grammatical approaches, which are not directly in line with Kinyarwanda (T5: 924). The only Kinyarwanda book on lexicon I know is on 'Kinyarwanda lexicon as it relates to French' but not 'Kinyarwanda lexicon as in Kinyarwanda'. How can you then use such a language to teach serious academic staff (T14: 1272)? All of the textbooks are either in French or English (T10: 463). As the result of such responses, current linguistic situation and motivation are identified as the properties and will be discussed.

4.6.2.CURRENT LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN RWANDA

Having heard many respondents' arguments on both L1 and L2, I find it paramount to highlight briefly the difference between 'transitional' and 'maintenance' programmes. This will help me at the end of this study to locate Rwanda's position in terms of what type of language policy is best likely to solve Rwanda's linguistic problems as per respondents' arguments. According to Baker (1993), a transitional programme has a goal of ultimately assimilating learners, both linguistically and socially into the L2 and its culture. A maintenance programme, on the other hand, has the goal of reinforcing L1 and a sense of cultural identity, as well as developing proficiency in L2, thus promoting

bilingualism and multilingualism if need be. Almost all respondents are definitely not in favour of transitional programme. A majority of the respondents stated that:

Rwandans today are linguistically a kind of 'mixed grill'. We desperately need both French and English to balance the situation. We need to define ourselves within the context of the world because we can easily be left out economically (T5: 992-994). In the sixties education was aimed at producing some kind of pseudo manpower to take over from the departing colonial masters. But with time things have changed, we need an education that will sustain our development with other nations and at the same time maintaining what belongs to us-our cultural heritage (P8: 1585). Rwanda demands a balance between mother tongue as the cultural pillar and western languages as a tool for development (T15: 1371).

One of my questions was: what could be the crucial things one could think of before introducing L1 as medium of instruction? Many respondents were of the view that, before the decision to use L1 for schooling is taken, a number of issues have to be addressed about the form of that language. In the case of Rwanda the issues are basically two: firstly, academic material and secondly, vocabulary.

Here, the respondents argue that it would be too difficult to find the equivalent of L2 words in Kinyarwanda to teach some subjects. And any attempt would lead to substandard teaching:

*We have to remember that what and how we teach came from the west. Rwandans did not know for instance how to count using symbols like +, -, *, etc. They used practical groupings of things and they could know how many or much they had. Symbols like the one of 'approximate' do not make any sense in Kinyarwanda. In Kinyarwanda things have either to be equal, greater or less but not approximate. Now the argument is that, to translate and start teaching these things in Kinyarwanda, we shall be confusing our children (T5: 976-978). If we teach in mother tongue we shall be teaching very*

elementary matter due to incapacity in terms of vocabulary and pedagogical methods rather than developing key concepts (T9: 1149).

The issue of Kinyarwanda as a Bantu language with absolutely no relation with Western languages is strongly highlighted by the respondents. Respondents argue that Kinyarwanda has different language rules. My argument for using translation for the time being is also counteracted by another rejection that: *in terms of translating concepts which are specific to any foreign language, the meaning would be distorted by constant direct translations of particular concepts. As one translates he/she cannot avoid making mistakes or have different interpretations such as the way one strings different words may be different (T13: 659).*

Furthermore, much of the taught material would lack technical vocabulary: *if you were teaching physics or chemistry, for instance, how could you explain a 'test tube'. The only thing we have in Kinyarwanda close to that is 'ikirahuri' but this is not exact meaning because 'ikirahuri' technically is anything made of a 'glass' (T13: 660).* All academic concepts are typical of the language in which the education was brought if they were to digest and comprehend clearly the gist of what they learn.

Respondents such as T1 and T11 further substantiated their point by citing an example that an expression like '*I am on the bus*'; - in Kinyarwanda you cannot comprehend its meaning at all because anything whereby you are covered like a bus, you must use the preposition '*in*' (*mu*), therefore you say '*I am in the bus*' (*ndi mu bisi*). '*To be on*' is only used to something open like a bike. Another respondent gave an example of the expression '*I missed the bus*'; again in most of African languages you only miss something where you are trying to throw something like a stone at something, (*guhushya*). So, a Rwandan would say that '*the bus left me*', (*ibasi yansize*) because a bus involves movement.

To crown it all, the majority of the respondents argue that even Kinyarwanda itself that was taught to Rwandan teachers is not enough for academic purposes. With this kind of shaky L1, plus getting the material from French or English books, one cannot avoid serious information distortion. The assumption held by those who support teaching in mother tongue is that any Rwandan teacher can teach in Kinyarwanda, particularly in primary schools. But according to a good number of the respondents:

A majority of Rwandan teachers themselves never had enough training, if any in Kinyarwanda. They learnt elementary grammar in what they used to call 'Ecole primaire' which was a section in secondary schools for those who could not qualify for A-level studies. It was not a proper language learning sufficient for teaching purposes. They lack technical knowledge in Kinyarwanda compared to other languages (T 9: 1228-1230). If Rwandan teachers teach in mother tongue throughout, there is definitely something they would be distorting and when students go to higher levels of education, they will find it too difficult to transfer knowledge from mother tongue to another language (T13: 661).

4.6.3. MOTIVATION

This property mainly looks at motivation in line with curriculum. The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) organises all the teaching activities in Rwanda. Respondents feel that: *curriculum should promote a collaborative effort between teachers and students to identify opportunities for meaningful use of L2 (T15: 1402). The problem is not learning in L2, learners can learn even better if they were motivated by good and improved teaching techniques (T10: 485).* According to the respondents there is a need: *to utilize a variety of teaching techniques to accommodate individual learning and communication styles (T5: 1058).*

Connected to the issue of motivation is the issue of good teaching materials to encourage and improve language learning skills and attitude among learners. Some of the respondents argue in terms of percentages: *more than 99% of academic books and other materials used in Rwanda are outdated, they do not encourage learners to read and enjoy studying, yet, the acquisition of knowledge and access to the wider world for communication changes everyday. So learners need to be motivated in their learning by using materials that can put them where their international counterparts are (T9: 1176-1184).*

The importance of improved teaching techniques and study material is seen through the comparison of L1 to L2 in the Ministry of Education report (2001). In primary school leaving examinations, pupils are free to choose the language in which they would write their examinations, Kinyarwanda inclusive, but they would still do the rest of the languages (French and English) as examinations. In spite of lack of L2 environment, it is amazing that even in rural areas the percentage that chooses to write their examinations in Kinyarwanda is very discouraging indeed. When I asked respondents what this could indicate, some respondents said that: *it is difficulty to learn in the language, which is not self-sufficient in teaching materials (T5: 1035). For L1 does not have any teaching material and this shows that, what we need is to improve on the few L2 teaching and study materials, which we have, rather than giving an excuse of L1 as the best way for children to learn (T9: 1178-1179).*

One respondent stated that: *the tenets of language acquisition are represented in the communicative approach and thematic base (T13: 1799).* This kind of argument recognises that communicative competence may be expanded and refined through meaningful and relevant activities. The thematic component and communicative approach provide an opportunity for pupils to learn in L2 as a language that is relevant and interesting to them. Some respondents such as T2, T8 and P15 cited an example of one of the recommended teaching techniques, which they say is usually hindered by code

switching typical of either unqualified language teachers or traditional ones. They had a view that frequent exposure to and use of L2 in authentic situations allows students to develop an understanding of rules, structures and meaning of words. This is what motivates any language learner and minimises unnecessary code switching.

Some respondents believe that: *learning L2 instigates the reading and writing culture into the minds of children (T5: 1046)*. In fact, very few African countries have a well-developed reading and writing culture, yet, this is very important for any linguistic development. According to one respondent, *foreign languages come with modern issues of interest to children through magazines, newspapers and books. This makes children open-minded by reading different ideas written by different intellectuals or other gifted people. In such cases, children find a lot of interesting and academic issues that attract them to read for example; celebrities, cookery, politics, and economy. And at times children end up catching the interest of writing in such literature (T9: 1163-1165)*. And this, according to this respondent, is not common in L1 due to lack of resources.

According to Nsubuga (1999), a well resource-based learning centre provides the opportunity to use a wide variety of resources. It accommodates the diversity of interests, needs and talents of students, teachers and the community. This diversity enhances the enjoyment of language learning. In line with this idea, respondents suggest that a simple, but well managed library in each school can help locate materials such as slides, photographs, videotapes, storybooks and teacher-made materials. This is what makes any language enjoyable.

In brief, the respondents are of the view that Rwanda needs to motivate learners to realise the importance of L2 today and that improving on academic materials, qualified teachers and publication skills are prerequisites to learning in L1 effectively. Respondents put it that: *what kind of medium of instruction can Kinyarwanda be without a single publication company in Rwanda (T10: 465)? The*

crucial work that Rwanda's education system has is to strengthen L1 and L2 rather than losing both international and our own cultural touch (T9: 1154). It is through L2 that we can emancipate ourselves from economic slavery and through L1 we can keep what belongs to us. Otherwise concentrating on L1 just out of emotions and sentiments will make us produce shaky and half-baked graduates who will not compete on the international level (P 7: 1510).

The argument that using L1 as a medium of instruction is the best way to solve Rwanda's problems is strongly disapproved by Wiredu (1984). Wiredu argues that it is not language that investigates or captures reality and nature as such. It is the users of language. It is people, spurred by motivation, and leadership and curiosity, that investigate. Language may even prove to be an encumbrance where no firm pointers are provided. To concretise his argument, Wiredu states that: *if the situation had been different and languages were so paramount, the West African king of the early modern period who journeyed to Mexico would not have done so, because it would have been difficult to conceptualise such new phenomena in new environment (p.7).*

CHAPTER.5. RELATING THE RESULTS TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the findings from the data analysis of the previous chapter, and to use those findings to answer the questions raised at the end of chapter 3. This chapter is divided into five sections, corresponding to each of the five research questions defined during chapter 3, relating to the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum.

5.2 Who introduced the current mother tongue policy and why?

Though many African countries and United Nations have been advocating L1 as the best medium of instruction for primary school education particularly in the first three years, very few African nations did anything to honour it. So, given the prevailing dissatisfaction about this policy among Rwandans, I wanted to hear from Rwandans themselves of different experiences, ages and genders, what they think of this policy. This is the question that prompted the respondents not only to tell me who introduced this system but also to give quite clear and elaborated reasons pertaining to the generation of this policy (though they did not solely agree with some of these reasons) as to why the late president Juvenile Habyalimana's government in 1978 thought it was better to have L1 as the medium of instruction throughout eight years of primary school.

Most of the reasons given are embedded within the ideas discussed in chapter 4 concerning: *superiority/inferiority complexes, alienation, perception, cognition, education system, meaning-making, and nationalism*. Technically, the president's rationale was to instil the patriotic, nationalistic, and cultural feelings into the minds of Rwandans and to use L1 as an easy pedagogical approach for learning. The late president Juvenile Habyalimana in 1978 introduced the system of using L1 as the

medium of instructions in primary schools and all the subjects had to be taught in L1 for the whole eight years of primary school, but later in 1991 it went back to the first three years of primary school.

According to the respondents, there was a political motive behind the introduction of L1 as a medium of instruction in Rwanda. Some respondents stated that: *the government constantly complained that learning in L2 had something to do with the problem of identification, the need to identify with groups of which Rwandans thought was a better group that is French and Belgians (T3: 47). The government thought that Rwandans derived more value in speaking French so that they could be admired (P8: 1547)*. So, the government thought that learning in L1 would reduce this kind of feeling that created some kind of inferiority complex for the peasants and superiority complex for the élite among Rwandans, as discussed in chapter 4.

The president's argument, according to the respondents, was that the foreignness of the language of instruction had been a major force in making education a culturally alienating process. Whereas language is supposed to help in bringing education close to the learner, and therefore in motivating learners to invest energy and time in 'the intrinsic excitement and self-regenerating dynamo of learning' as Kiggundu (1999) says, the lack of integration of educational goals with the cultural context and Rwandan values had contributed to the educational crisis in Rwanda whereby education had made itself increasingly irrelevant to the real issues of Rwandans.

While some politicians and theorists see L2 as a way of achieving economic, technological and academic progress, Rwandan politicians in the mid-1970s saw L2 spread as an evidence of subtle linguistic imperialism, occurring at the expense of the local language-Kinyarwanda. According to Kachru (1986), during the South African struggle, local languages were seen as one of the most treasured cultural possessions of the nation - an ecological diversity akin to bio-diversity; and they

became a terrain of struggle over the basic human rights to express oneself in one's mother tongue, underpinned by economic interests, political muscle and cultural concern.

As per the respondents, the president and his fellow politicians in Rwanda based their decision to make mother tongue the medium of instruction in primary schools on the evidence from postcolonial studies such as of Galtung (1980). Galtung argues that the languages and cultures of colonialists were validated through glorification and socially constructed so that they were seen as resources (actual or potential) and could therefore be converted into other resources or to positions of structural power. On the other hand, the resources of powerless people, especially their immaterial resources, among them their language and cultures, were socially deconstructed through stigmatisation, so that they became invisible or were seen as handicaps. In this way, their resources were invalidated, became non-resources, and hence could not be converted to other resources or to positions of structural power. This idea is also echoed by Bamgbose (1994), Cornwell (1996) and Strauss (1996) who see development as 'the alleviation of poverty' (Bamgbose, 1994, p.1004) that goes beyond economic response.

According to the respondents, the president argued that: *from the administrative and political perspective, it is difficult to build a culture of constitutionalism in Rwanda if concepts like civil liberties, due process, independence of the judiciary, and habeas corpus have never been translated into Kinyarwanda accessible to ordinary citizens (P4: 773). Constitutionalism becomes foreign as a system partly because it is completely alien linguistically (P7: 1463). Kinyarwanda is treated as if it is still purely oral and unworthy of the written heritage of constitutions (T15: 1345).*

In view of this idea, Bizimana (1998) reminds us that in Rwanda's 1978 constitution amendment, the president emphatically stated that the exclusion of Rwandans from the legislative process itself, because of linguistic incapacity, had contributed to the acute state of divergence between the language

and the law. The fact that Rwanda's constitution was exclusively in French may have slowed down the development of a new constitutional culture in Rwanda. Rwandans, the president said, were not learning to think in constitutional terms partly because they had been living in political system that stifled the development of mother tongue constitutional vocabulary.

Kinyarwanda was also made the official parliamentary language on the ground that the legal linguistic exclusion had denied the majority of the citizens their democratic rights of participating in the formulation of their laws owing to lack of proficiency in French. According to the respondents, the president rhetorically asked: *how can Rwandans claim democracy as a rule by the people when the majority lack the opportunity to participate in the making of their own parliament (T9: 1183)?* Respondents cited the Tanzanian example as another African country under President Nyerere that localised its parliament (**Bunge**) in Kiswahili, for more citizens to participate in law making process and democratisation, and Kenya under president Jomo Kenyata followed suit in 1971.

Moreover, Cain et al. (1996) maintain that political communication has a large ritualistic component, and these ritualised forms of communication are typically language specific. Even if one understands a foreign language in the technical sense, without knowledge of these ritualistic elements one may be unable to understand political debates. Anderson (1983) and Baker (1993) state that the more political debate is conducted in the vernacular, the more participating it will be. This is reinforced by the link that was forged between language and national identity in the nineteenth century, when states first embarked on the process of educating the masses, enabling them to participate politically in their vernacular. The combination of mass literacy and mass democracy helped create powerful national identities, symbolized in the use of the vernacular, which bestowed on citizens a new-found dignity - identities which remain with people for ever. Mass education and mass democracy conducted in the vernacular are concrete manifestations of this shift towards a dignity-bestowing national identity. The

use of the language of the people is a confirmation that the political community really does belong to the people, and not to the élite (Gitonga, 1987).

The use of language is regarded by Fanon (1963) as one of the most powerful possible means of alienation. This is because the boundaries of language can serve as important markers of the self and the other; denial of the self can easily be made public by shifting from one language to another. Language, therefore, is not simply an act of communication and the acceptance of the socio-cultural presuppositions that make communication possible, but also a means of signifying a certain relationship with one's interlocutors. To speak a particular language is not only to accept its formal linguistic requirements such as syntax, and grasp its morphology, but also to acknowledge the culture implied by it to support its weight of civilization. Fanon (ibid) argues that, when the language is also the language of the oppressor, the worldview that it implicitly expresses is often accepted as more valid than one's own. As the oppressed becomes increasingly proficient in the language of the oppressor, therefore, the oppressed becomes proportionately estranged from his or her native language and culture.

Fanon concludes that this is the stage at which the colonized is said to have interiorised the racial archetypes of the colonizer. The colonized begins to see the language and values of the colonizer as a means of enlightenment and social progress. It is against this fact of the political psychology of colonialism that Fanon states: *'every colonized people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its originality, finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is with the culture of the mother country'* (p.18). On this note, however, Ngugi (1986) reminds us that: in spite of the desperate attempts to become Europeans, such Africans never quite attain a European identity. European society never accepts them as full participants; they always remain outsiders. The more European the Africans become in cultural terms, the more they are regarded by European society as exotic-estranged from their 'African identity' and closed out from

European identity, until they become entrapped in what is essentially a 'colonial culture', a culture that stultifies their thinking and destroys all potential for organic intellectual growth.

It is from this perspective that Bizimana (1998) concludes that President Habyalimana saw, in the keeping of foreign language as a medium of instruction, a dangerous colonial mentality for Rwanda. This understanding is reiterated by Arugbo (1999) in the meeting of the Association of African universities that, at primary level children have to clearly understand the explanation from the teachers since they cannot read for themselves and this necessitates the use of L1 which children understand better. Despite the official endorsement of the policy, education in the former colonies as discussed in chapter 2,3, and 4 continued to be bookish, alien and did not affect the lives of the masses of the people. In a similar manner, Mukama (1991) states that the first students at Makerere University struggled with seventeenth-century English poetry, and final year students had trouble in understanding British texts because of their entire lack of familiarity with the English background exemplified by Father Christmas, cricket jargon and potting sheds (p.105).

According to Massamba (1989), L2 perpetuates the feeling that only European ways of thinking, of clothing, of playing, of buying and selling goods, are the best and that all things African are inferior quality. This is one of the most destructive and undermining influences in Africa. The late president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyata, speaking as a representative of a colonised people, complained of European educators not appreciating that they have anything to learn in Africa. Without a proper knowledge of the functions of local realities like mother tongue, more African children are influenced to live and behave according to the western kind of social life, which they do not fully understand (Gitonga, 1987). Some teachers echoed this view too (though in the midst of the interview, many kept on contradicting it): if Rwandans learnt how to be proud of what they are and accept that there is dignity in using their language, even in academic contexts, then they can reclaim what they lost during colonial times.

By quoting the late President Habyalimana verbatim, one respondent stated that, in the President's words: *the worst colonialism is mental colonialism or indoctrination. We have to heal the wounds of colonialism by returning and doing things in our own way. We cannot allow to be brainwashed perpetually and remain in this terrible mental colonial atmosphere (P4: 772).* The Rwandan government in 1978 strongly argued that research should be carried out in L1. Linguistics departments were needed to explore the importance of L1 in education on the ground that many Rwandans thought that Kinyarwanda was a poor language in terms of vocabulary. But according to Habyalimana as quoted by Bizimana (1998): *'there is no language that is poor. Any language borrows from the others, but this does not mean that a particular language is not self-sufficient with good structures, expressions and vocabularies that can be developed further' (p.83).*

Respondents stated that Habyalimana (the former president) was always arguing that: *there is no Rwanda without developing, honouring and keeping what belongs to us naturally. And the first natural possessions are language and culture the very things that make up our identity and strengthen our sense of nationalism (T15: 1399). Our schools must be the national instrument to promote and implant the feeling of nationalism into our children (P4: 1557).* Looking at the government's argument for making L1 the medium of instruction, one sees that the government wanted to follow Smith's model (1991) of national identity: a civic-territorial (or western model) that emphasises the territory, a legal community, common culture and a common civic ideology.

The government wanted to promote nationalism, which is based on a shared community, a shared culture, and social ties. Unfortunately, according to a significant number of respondents, the president's feelings of nationalism later turned away from Smith's civic-territorial model to an ethnic-genealogical or non-western model in which priority was given to ethnicity and blood ties. McLuhan (1965) holds the similar view that strengthening a language had been an essential prerequisite of fixing

a nation: there cannot be nationalism where there has not first been an experience of 'a vernacular' in printed form. Mukasa (1999) too, confirms that L1 is what forms the nucleus of activity as a person for each one of the national people. As such, L1 plays an essential role in the self-creation and fulfilment of each individual national citizen, as well as in the formation, improvement and progress of a nation as a society, and the continuation, creation and development of its culture to which people must be identified (p.85).

According to Williams (1993), there are two ways of thinking about 'cultural identity'. The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', *'hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificial imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common' (p.393)*. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes, which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.

One respondent demonstrated his political knowledge concerning this ideology of cultural identity. He stated that: *the conception of cultural identity played a critical role not only in Rwanda, but also in all post-colonial struggles, which have so profoundly reshaped Africa. It lay at the centre of the vision of the poets of 'Negritude', like Aime Cesaire and Leopold Sengor, and of the Pan-African political projects, earlier in the century. It continues to be a very powerful arm for creative force in emergent forms of representation amongst hitherto marginalized peoples (P7: 1464)*. In fact, in post-colonial societies, the rediscovery of cultural identity is often the object of what Frantz (1963) once called: 'passionate research-----directed by the secrete hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond the self-contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others'.

In short, with an argument like this, one clearly sees why the government of Rwanda in 1978 advocated L1 as a medium of instruction in schools. It was the traumatic character of colonial experience whereby Africans and their experiences were characterised as inferior. Unfortunately, however, according to the respondents, even Rwandan politicians used this very political approach to create divisions amongst their very people whereby **HUTU** and **TUTSI** fought over who was superior over the other. This is how the problem of **ethnic cleansing** came into existence. On this point, Foucault (1977) reminds us that: ‘every regime of representation is a regime of power formed by the fatal couplet power’ (p.174). This ‘inner expropriation’ of cultural identity according to Foucault cripples and deforms people. If it is not resisted, it can produce, in Frantz’s (1963) vivid phrase, ‘individuals without an anchor, without horizon, stateless, rootless-a race of Angels’ (p.65).

5.3. To what extent do teachers feel confident in following this policy?

This is the question that clearly brought to surface the issues of mother tongue policy implementation. The responses to this question range from those who demonstrated confidence in L1 to those who felt that their L1 capacity could not serve the teaching purposes. Reasons given also range from political and linguistic to colonial legacy reasons. For those who feel confident to use L1 in teaching, the reasons put forward are mostly pedagogical: *the pedagogical and methodological approaches used in teaching foreign languages such pictures (amafoto) rhymes (gushyenga) simple stories (imigani) poetry (ibyivugo) and songs (indirimbo), games (imikino), local ones can easily be composed to teach in L1 effectively (T9: 1093). If there are shortages in vocabularies, we can create and borrow some since there are many ways of doing so (T15: 1402).*

Another argument is that French, for instance, has been in the Rwandan education system for more than 100 years. But according to the Ministry of Education report (2001) not more than 5% of the population can speak French in real linguistic terms. The implication, then, is that L2 can never be as

easy as L1. According to this respondent: *many teachers spend a lot of time on translations trying to figure out the linguistic meanings instead of trying to understand the subject content-yet this is easy with mother tongue (T 9: 1141).*

Such arguments agree with Coste (1987) who suggests that what must be emphasised is the **richness** of linguistic and cultural understanding. Coste points to the fact that people who have really learnt their mother tongue deeply also know a great deal about other languages and the same could be said of cultural skills. Teachers will not only feel comfortable in drawing from their mother tongue and culture as a point of reference but also this will make the new knowledge seem relevant (Fillmore and Valadez, 1986). This knowledge, in turn, should enhance and enrich existing linguistic and cultural knowledge. Some respondents suggested that: *what the National Curriculum Development Centre should do is to introduce both 'in-depth L1 and L2 curricula' at all levels and then for those who are training to become teachers different aspects of mother tongue must be learnt even more in depth to enrich their general understanding of linguistic and cultural elements (T 5: 1060-1061).*

Furthermore, a good number of teachers feel more confident in using L2 for teaching purposes than L1. Respondents claimed that: *Kinyarwanda like any other African language is mostly on the level of simple conversation not for pedagogical purposes (T5: 913). The incapacity for Kinyarwanda use in education is seen in common code switching from Kinyarwanda to either French or English when serious debates and teaching are going on in Kinyarwanda (T10: 472). While teaching in a language with very limited vocabulary like Kinyarwanda and you are not confident of, like many of us are, referential communicative tasks yield few, if any, opportunities for teachers to collaborate with learners (T 9: 1090).*

A good number of respondents expressed lack of confidence in teaching in L1. Here, the serious issues of language structure in Rwanda, lack of enough academic background in L1, lack of teaching materials and lack of vocabulary to teach were common among the respondents. Van et al. (1984) also highlight the need to solve such problems before a language is taken on as part of the curriculum. A

further argument put forward by those who lack confidence is that: *all along the curriculum for L1 in both primary and secondary schools in Rwanda has been too elementary to enable teachers to use it as a medium of instructions at a later stage (T10: 473). Teachers in Rwanda both in primary and secondary schools have been concentrating on reading and writing skills assuming that, comprehension, listening and analysis skills are learnt at home, yet these are the key areas if L1 was to be used as a medium of instructions (T14: 1315-1318).*

With this situation, one can argue that, if there is lack of critical dialogue between a teacher and the learner, it will be too difficult for learners themselves to discuss any subject content for more understanding. Cain (1996) argues that, although some critics think that sufficient contact with a language and structured information from the teacher and textbooks would suffice for learners to grasp underlying content, this presumption is dubious. Learners will need opportunities to explore and discuss differences in cultural meanings between the culture of that particular language in use and the learners' culture. And yet there are many teachers in Rwanda (the majority of them returnees) who themselves are not well informed and knowledgeable about the cultural components of Kinyarwanda.

On top of finding Kinyarwanda insufficient for teaching purposes, many respondents have a feeling that they cannot overcome the colonial legacy. They still need to speak and work with the most powerful nations. In respondents' words: *we feel academically and intellectually powerful and prestigious when we teach in L2 in Rwanda (T5: 915). Knowledge is closely associated with one's capacity to speak a foreign language, it is socially known even in other former African colonies and we cannot change it (T10: 535).* Respondents argue that, above all, at the moment, L1 in education is too platonic an idea. It still lacks a political will to allocate resources, train enough L1 teachers and create a strong department for L1 research, which are necessary before L1 can be used as a medium of instruction.

Arguably, as literacy has expanded in Rwanda from the privilege of some to the right of all, the government policy to teach in L1 in primary schools in a more detailed way needs a more advanced approach in teaching. Yet, according to respondents such as T6 and T11, the rate of production of basic range schoolbooks in L1 has not met the demand for the government expectations. According to the World Bank report (1994) one of the standard demands of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) and the World Bank, almost throughout Africa, is the reduction of government subsidies in virtually every sphere of the society, from health to education. But because few African countries can sponsor their education effectively, even those countries like Tanzania and Kenya that tried to re-centre African languages are increasingly finding themselves with no option but to adopt the imperial languages from the earliest years of their children's education (Rubagumya, 1994). Rubagumya reminds us that it was after Tanzania capitulated to I.M.F and World Bank conditionalities in the 1980s, that the British ODA moved on aggressively to launch the multi-million dollar English Teaching Support Project in 1987. Since then, according to Rubagumya, the Tanzanian government has been back-peddalling on some of its own plans to extend instruction in Kiswahili well beyond elementary education.

In short, the above position is reinforced by the argument based on the cost associated with L1 as a medium of instruction. Economically, according to the respondents, the initiative to use L1 as a medium of instruction requires resources in terms of teacher training, developing grammars and orthographies, producing and translating textbooks and supplementary materials. The cost issue is one of the arguments used against development of indigenous languages, namely, that education in mother tongue is not affordable. In view of the respondents, a poor country like Rwanda, with meagre resources can hardly pay for the additional expenses of teacher training and materials production associated with instruction through mother tongue.

5.4. What are the significant differences in views between politicians and teachers concerning mother tongue policy in Rwandan primary schools?

This was another highly contested area of my study. It brought to surface different attitudes held by politicians/policy makers and teachers (policy implementers) about mother tongue in primary school curriculum. With this question the differences between teachers and politicians were quite evident. Although there were a few politicians who shared teachers' views on this question, the majority of teachers demonstrated views that strongly opposed politicians' views on the second part of question one - that is, *why L1 policy was introduced in Rwanda?* Teachers seem to acknowledge the present and unstoppable need for L2, particularly in the economic and current linguistic situation in Rwanda, and some pedagogical advantages in using L2 as a medium of instruction as opposed to the mostly and politically motivated arguments for L1 given by politicians in support of 1978 education reform. Surprisingly, even teachers who served as civil servants under the government that introduced this system were very critical of it.

As discussed in Chapter 4, teachers acknowledge the importance of cultural, national and pedagogical advantages of L1, however, they argue that, with economic development needs today, L2 cannot be avoided at all. They state that: *the emphasis put on L1 by politicians is not a genuine one; politicians' intention was to keep as many local people as possible in rural areas with little education so as to perpetuate a very small clique of élite class in power. Many politicians and the whole élite class use international and overseas schools that offer quality education through L2 for their children while many poor children's education is retarded (T5: 1038-1041).*

Looking through these arguments, both teachers and politicians agree on one thing: the importance of mother tongue as far as linguistic survival is concerned. However, teachers put forward quite strong reasons that cannot enable the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in Rwanda. These reasons relate to economics and linguistic differences in structure between Bantu and Western

languages and the current language crisis in Rwanda. Reflecting on all these arguments, I reconfirm my theory of ‘tradeoffs’. Actually one respondent said, *L2 is a necessary evil* arguing that, whether Rwandans like it or not, they have to live and work with the international community regardless of many political mistakes committed by colonialists. According to the respondents, it is through L2 that Rwandans can manage to restore the political and economic power they claim to have been denied by colonialists by working with the former colonisers.

Arguably: education is supposed to help Rwandans gain autonomy of life, assess life and evaluate what they consider valuable for them and live according to what they see fit for them without encroaching on the society’s norms. This is what one respondent termed as: ‘*pedagogue de la découverte*’ (*pedagogy of discovery*). So, it is not the foreign language as such that makes children behave like western people, it is a society that is open to different learning, which is socially and academically healthy. It is a society that is dynamic and under constant changes dictated by economic and social progress.

L2 is one of the ways of broadening Rwandans’ economic horizons and removing all the barriers so as to interact with other communities. Even if teachers are not competent in L2, it is a question of constant improvement. In the view of this point, some respondents stated that: *above all you can never achieve a native-kind of competence any way (T9: 1093)*. According to the respondents in this regard: *political and economic power, and a facilitative technology, are what cause a language to develop (T14: 1301)*. On all these accounts, respondents argue: *French and English have repeatedly not only in Rwanda but also in other countries turned out to be the languages in the right place at this time of economic struggle (T13: 609)*. *Many international enterprises and organisations use either English or French as the working language. The breadth of the use of French and English in international relations of all kinds, in the media and advertising, in western-oriented business, education and science does not need rehearsing (T5: 931-933)*.

Emphasising the importance of L2 today, Toolan (1998), for instance, points at the superiority of English. In crudely market-driven economic terms, any kind of product that is in any way language-dependent and that seeks a global audience or market, may be thought of as competing at a disadvantage if it originates in any other language other than English. English may not be an added value, of English-mediated product; but non-English is an added cost, of non-mediated products.

The guardian newspaper's survey (2002), too, clearly shows the unstoppable capacity of English today. It reports that two thirds of French people are now acknowledging the superior usefulness of English. The paper argues that the high point of Anglo-American linguistic hegemony was the Voyager space probe with its message of 'peace and goodwill' for the people of outer space. From that moment, British and American English acquired a supranational momentum which, has so far, proved unstoppable' (p.2). In the aftermath of the Soviet collapse, it was American English, underpinned by US culture and fashion and US media that carried the English language into the farthest corners of the globe.

A good number of teachers argue that there is always a need to benchmark what other nations are doing for further development. And one of those things to benchmark is an economic development need that demands a command of an international language. According to Green (1997), the trend towards a common pursuit of economic development has prompted countries since the early 1980s to look more closely at the policies adopted in other countries, as they have responded to a worldwide economic crisis. This has partly been motivated by international comparisons, as each country examines its performance in relation to other countries according to various indicators

In line with teachers' support of L2 as a means of joining the East African Community, Guttman (1993) also points to the 'competence in several European languages' advocated as the appropriate reaction to European unification. Guttman confirms that, quite often, the objective has been justified

on purely economic grounds: 'if you want to sell your products, you must speak your customer's language' (p.157). Laver and Roukens (1994) too talk of the need for bilingual and multilingual capacity for adequate efficiency in the field of Europe-wide administrative affairs: police and security matters for example; health records; interaction between national administration; transport and tourism. Many respondents stated that: *before 1994, Rwanda was like an island-no one knew it (T9: 1106). Unlike in 1970s, many of our students today go not only to overseas universities but also to regional ones for those courses that are not offered by our own universities and institutions. Already Rotary club is building the first ever-modern library in Rwanda. How do you expect to network such a library to other regional and international libraries for documentation and other services if we do not have sufficient level of L2? (T5: 935-936).*

In order to reduce Rwanda's poverty and high rate of unemployment, the Rwandan government has to seriously work with other nations that have credibility in development by using their ideas. According to Mukasa (1999) the question of mother tongue as a means to economic liberation and development is outdated today. Some respondents believed that what African governments should concentrate on is the reflection of the intensification of the economic competition between nations to ensure that their education systems and training are adequate for economic challenges they face. Here the up-to-date information about development in other countries becomes important because it enables policy makers and others to be kept informed about how other countries are dealing with similar issues, such as linguistic issues.

Arguably, Rwandans use L2 for their own benefit. To substantiate this point, respondents such as P9, P15, T1 cited a current example that just after eight years after the genocide, there are tremendous developments that Rwanda has achieved through N.G.Os, international departments like DFID (from Britain), GTZ (from German) and many new embassies in Rwanda. The two new institutions of higher learning, National Curriculum Development Centre, National Examinational Council, the Rwanda Revenue Authority and many other government departments were initiated through the funds of these

foreign nations. These achievements according to these respondents are attributed to Rwanda's new relationship with the outside world from which it had been closed for a long time due to myopic politics. For Rwandans, while L1 is for emotional and sensational satisfaction, L2 is for survival.

Green (1997) maintains that given changes in technology and communications and the internationalisation of the labour market, education functions within a transitional context. Green calls on countries to look at world systems rather than merely at the nation-state. In this view, respondents are advising Rwandan politicians to draw their attention to foreign educational practice for Rwanda to avoid internationally inferior education, which can affect even other developments in the country.

From an academic perspective, many teachers concur with Vygotsky's view on L2. Vygotsky (1978) believes that the grammatical awareness, which comes through learning in L2, has a positive effect on better language learning: 'a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language.' For Vygotsky, L2 represents in itself the rigour of a more advanced level of learning: 'the influence of scientific concepts in the mental development of the child is analogous to the effect of learning in L2 (p.193). According to Morgan (1996), L2 encourages learners to a deeper and higher level of thought, to encourage reflexivity in terms of understanding one's own mother tongue and to reveal language as a personally produced occurrence rather than a reified abstraction.

The majority of teachers dismissed the political argument of assimilation, arguing that teaching in L2 does not exclude teachers from teaching some traditional and cultural aspects of the society. One respondent stated that: *to state that using L2 encourages assimilation system is a misrepresentation of facts. Assimilation was practised in the colonial days by forcibly denying communities the opportunity to teach their traditions to children, by severely punishing the use of L1 in schools and ceremonial practices. But today no single school or even family still has this kind of practice. For some children to hate L2 is not because of the language itself, but the way teachers treat them in class and at school that essentially amount to assault on their personal identities. So what are needed are better pedagogical approaches in teaching rather than blaming L2 as such (T 13: 676).*

A significant number of teachers put it that, they were not de-campaigning their own mother tongue, but they would like to see mother tongue develop along side L2 for better and linguistically strong future Rwandans. From this argument, one gets the view that teachers are advocating a bilingual/multilingual education system. Mayor (1994) emphasises the major benefits, which she considers derive from a bilingual/multilingual system: *earlier and greater awareness of arbitrariness of language: earlier separation of meaning from sound: greater adeptness at evaluating non-empirical contradictory statements (i.e. logic): greater facility in concept formation and greater adeptness at divergent thinking: greater social sensitivity (p.171).*

In view of Schwerdtfeger's (1993) idea of the teacher's role in class, what would seem to be needed in Rwanda is for teachers to help the learners in class to compare and contrast L1 and L2 texts to identify:

- 1.differences in the linguistic and rhetorical framing of texts (the kind of texts; the expectations from the reader; the construction of arguments etc).
- 2.differences in the cultural constructions or schemata on which the text rely and.
3. recognition of different kinds of language and rhetoric within a culture.

If these comparisons and contrasts were made, then learners would have the opportunity to recognise that 'otherness' is a cultural/linguistic dimension that is operative between cultures and within cultures, and thus also within their own cultures (Cain and Zarate, 1996).

5.5.Are there any significant differences in views and attitudes concerning mother tongue policy between older teachers and younger teachers?

With this question, also contradicting ideas and attitude about the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction were evident between young and old teachers. The majority of young teachers expressed a strong desire for an intercultural development amongst Rwandans-hence globalisation. The main recognisable difference between old teachers and young teachers was that older teachers tended to emphasise L1 as a pillar to culture while young teachers looked at L2 mostly as their future treasure for mobility and marketability. This is when the issue of globalisation clearly came to surface through young teachers' ambitions to join an international kind of life.

According to the majority of young teachers, the opportunities for exchanging of ideas in education are growing. In support of this argument, Green (1997) maintains that this is partly a result of the increasing trend towards globalisation, enhanced by more sophisticated communications systems, the breaking down of traditional boundaries (e.g. between nations) and ready exchange of information on an international scale, all of which impact upon a variety of social areas. It is also because of growing moves towards international comparability, for example in terms of defining standards of education, and mutual recognition of standards for qualifications, to assist in the transfer of labour around the world. This issue of harmonising Rwanda's education system and qualifications to match an international standard is what many young teachers hoping to work abroad are struggling for.

Hobsbawm (1996) is of the view that the path to a post national system is variously conceived, but in all the different scenarios the inexorable thrust of globalisation plays a significant role. Globalisation of capital and labour markets, of production and consumption, of communication and information, of technological and cultural flows is already posing problems that cannot be resolved within the borders of individual states or with the traditional means of interstate treaties. Just as the problems of capitalism in western countries created a need for delocalising law and politics, which led eventually

to the formation of the nation-state, globalisation and everything that goes with it is creating a growing need for denationalisation not only in developed nations but also in Rwanda in terms of travel, intercultural relations and educational services.

According to Bourguignon (2000): as long as trade liberalisation triggers enough positive income effects on the economy, one may expect the élite to be more willing to subsidize the education of the poor and by this way, to allow a political transition process with more representative institutions to start up. Trade liberalisation reduces the income gaps among the three classes of individuals, that is, between skilled and unskilled workers but also between capitalists and the two classes of workers; so globalisation and L2 become important channels to achieve this and technological transfer for a small developing economy like that one of Rwanda. Technological transfer, according to Kim et al. (2000) can occur naturally as simple international spillovers of the process of external liberalisation. These spillovers may augment total factor productivity nationwide or in one particular sector of the economy. This in turn will typically effect the allocation of resources in the country and, as a result, the incentives to accumulate human and physical capital (p.17). New technologies may also be introduced in the country through multinationals, foreign direct investment, international licensing or joint-ventures (p.18). In most cases, however, these new technologies will require the understanding of L2 for smooth communication.

Many young teachers fear that, if politicians do not respond to global demands so as to keep up with world views and modernity, Rwandans will be left with a more or less self-regulating government that simply *creates a world in its own image (T5: 948)* as the government becomes less and less able to sustain the regulatory and social welfare mechanisms with which it has heretofore sought to domesticate within its borders. My theory of ‘tradeoffs’ comes to surface here again in that, politicians have to think in terms of ‘unity in diversity’, to conceptualise forms of social and political integration that are sensitive to, compatible with, and accommodative of varieties of differences. Reconciling national diversity with cosmopolitan unity is one component of the response.

The majority of young teachers maintain that, the choice of which language to use, is a matter of association, for instance what Rwandans associate L2 with. Respondents stated that: *not only in Rwanda but also in developed nations, L2 is associated with international relations and diplomacy (T13: 677). A good number of Rwandans today try speaking French and English in pubs, towns, social functions, televisions, radios, newspapers because they appreciate what these languages can do for them (T10: 434).* The Bantu language education offered to Blacks during apartheid and until 1990 in Namibia was not redeemed by the fact that the mother tongue was the medium of instruction (Phillipson, 1992). Language policies are one part of educational policy, which is itself determined by the overall societal goals of the community in question. The moment you appreciate a language, then it is no longer foreign-it is yours (Phillipson, p. 56). Respondents such as T19 and P9 concluded that: *let us teach our mother tongue for patriotic and cultural purposes but not to retard our chance to work with other nations and explore our chances anywhere in the world-hence 'tradeoffs'.*

Morgan (1996) argues that, in a climate where young people may struggle to find employment and factors are weighted in terms of their material or instrumental worth, it can be easy to forget the benefits of the pleasures of language and the access to pleasurable activities that a language can bring. Morgan confirms that we certainly enjoy the subtleties of our mother tongue. But by adding other languages to our repertoire, we thus have a wider range of linguistic understanding and may enjoy the pleasure of the sounds and the freshness of the idioms in that language in a way perhaps that is denied to native speakers. Knowing other languages will also allow us access to different kinds of entertainment: television, videos, and literature in that language. While music and art may be said to have a universal language transcending national borders, the world of other literature will only be available in translation, which may not portray the original intended message.

This kind of argument does agree with Starkey (1991) who states that monolingual societies are handicapped. Starkey strongly maintains that, if there is one area of curriculum that ought to be central to global education, it is languages. If there is one set of skills that all global citizens ought to possess, it is to communicate in languages other than their own. In order to empathise with other people, it is useful to look at how their language encapsulates and interprets the world (p.103). Contrary to the older teachers' argument that L2 ruins people's culture, Starkey sees L2 from a different perspective. In his view, learning in L2 develops intercultural, cognitive flexibility, behavioural flexibility, cultural knowledge, interpersonal sensitivity, and communication skills and eliminates negative elements such as ethnocentrism (see also Van Ek, 1984).

In the similar manner, Duquette (1991) argues that knowing more than one language allows participation with individuals of different cultural groups, expanding social possibilities while enlarging psychological ones. This opens the door to another world and provokes questions about one's own values and assumptions-often a disquieting experience. This intercultural exposure provides opportunities to gain new personal perspectives while also learning about others. It affords an excellent way to understand language and culture as mediators of our 'knowing'. Duquette's idea about monolingual societies provides a quite relevant example and analysis to Rwanda's situation. In a monolingual society, Duquette confirms that children are really in need of dual education to ensure that they too benefit from participating in dual visions of the world and to preclude the 'smug narrowness and the narrow smugness' of the ethnocentric being.

According to a large number of young teachers, the part played by the scientific community in the dissemination of information and knowledge (for which young people are hungry) through L2 (particularly English) is irresistible. Scientific endeavour transcends national boundaries, and scientific communication has fastened on English as the most developed and capable medium for the

transmission of new ideas. A Guardian newspaper survey (2002) reported that: *more than half of the world's scientific journals are in English. Hand in hand with science, the massive impact of the Internet has been unimaginably important. 80% of home pages on the web are in English, compared to 4.5% German and 3.1% Japanese (p.5)*. The worldwide web and the Internet are post-national if anything is. Barber (1998) cites examples such as: Coca-cola, burgers, MTV, World Cup football, the Olympics and funerals of royalty which, he states, are no longer exclusive to one nation. Barber calls this whole panoply of consumer-targeted and monopoly-ridden material 'the infotainment telesector' (p.79).

A significant number of young teachers believe that the instrumental appeal for L2 far outweighs the negative factors associated with it and the pragmatic recognition of what it can offer to Rwandans is evident in the steady increasing demand for it. According to Vivian de Klerk (1996) even higher institutions of learning are becoming aware of this fact. The former traditionally strong Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch in South Africa is a case in point. It is becoming more affirmatively dual-medium.

However, for older teachers, the argument is different. Older teachers see nationalism being promoted particularly through the awareness of cultural heritage. But young teachers strongly disagree. For young teachers the given reasons for promoting nationalism through L1 are just outdated and hypocritical: *this political hypocrisy, hiding behind nationalism and national identity created the ethnic cleansing in Rwanda that will never disappear from our mind (T5: 1048)*. *Some of us are looking forward to joining East African Community at least to have an international kind of views rather than the only localised views (T 13: 678)*.

Kymlicka (1995) states that nationalism as a normative doctrine today raises spectres of ethnic cleansing, forced resettlement, massive repression, and the like. Politicians claiming nationalism through mother tongue promotion must remember that taking nationalism as the principle of strengthening the nation and making people love their country is, in today's world, a recipe for bloody disaster (ibid). It is generally recognised that nationalism and identity are neither natural nor pre-political. They are socio-culturally constructed-‘imagined communities’ as Anderson (1983) has it, or ‘imagined commonalities’ as Max (1985) has it (p.178). It is true that nationalism and national identity typically serve political purposes - as vehicles of emancipation or aggression, political unification and economic modernisation. But the problem is, the constructed character of nationalism and national identity makes them notoriously susceptible to being used for individuals’ political ends, particularly bad ones. After the end of colonialism, there is no need to raise such strong views on national consciousness liberation struggles since this has been proven to be just fanning xenophobia for aggressive purposes.

In the similar manner, Anderson (1983) notes that: ‘nationalism is really bastardisation, by dynastic and aristocratic forces, of the original ideological thrust of the concept, in order to sustain monopolistic interest’ (p.129). In the similar manner, Orwell as quoted by Othmas (1990), states that: ‘nationalists believe that their group is the strongest and most deserving and is able to stick to their belief even when the facts are overwhelmingly against them. Nationalistic belief is characterised by obsession e.g. with language and belief that the past can be altered. Consequently Nationalistic feelings have some negative elements of promoting and maintaining of ‘us’ and ‘them’ boundaries, a de-emphasis of individual rights and interests and a hardening of group interests into perceived superiority. Nationalistic feelings always have romanticised yearning of the past. And it can change quickly from a radical ideology to a reactionary one. It can be static or regressive in the face of unpalatable aspects of modernity’ (p.177).

For the majority of the older teachers, teaching in L1 may help schools to promote the organisation and attendance of cultural festivals that at least would boost children's morale to know and feel that their ancestors had some kind of meaningful life, not primitive as portrayed by western languages:

Cultural death means the slow obliteration of oral traditions, songs, folktales, rituals, proverbs all of which add up to an invaluable legacy to our culture as Rwandans (T13:897). Bennnaars (1994) strongly argues that, 'no decision or action which one observes in a particular classroom, and no educational policy can be properly understood except by reference to the web of inherited ideas and values, habits and customs which make one country distinct from another' (p.92).

Older teachers argue that culture does not only mean traditions, customs, rituals, and beliefs as falsely portrayed by many young people. *It is also a kind of contextual experience unique to a given society and this reality must be transmitted to children through L1 in a formal education system (T7: 242).*

Such a respondent sees learning not as something driven solely by the learner or the child (as suggested by Piaget, 1926), but as an interactive process, where development occurs in tandem with and in response to the context of learning (Rogoff, 1990; Garton, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978). This is in line with Vygotsky (ibid) who maintains that language is a mediating device operating between a person and experience or idea much as a tool is used for physical activities. Here, the culture accessed by the learners is what Vygotsky terms as a higher level of skill: those academic skills, which are particularly prized in society. For Zainabo (1995), culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning, knowledge.

The argument here is that, learning in L2 creates discontinuity between learners and their common sense and for the learners the result may be disaffection. It is often difficult for learners to access the ground-rules of academic discourse where discontinuity exists, since these rules are implicit and taken for granted, with a teacher often assuming a level of knowledge and reference amongst learners (Edwards and Mercer, 1993). This problem is evident in the respondents' complaints: *Rwandan*

children are forced to follow western culture of literacy yet they have a stronger oral culture, typical of Banyarwanda informal education, than literacy and reading in general, typical of western education (T4: 169). Children need to use the means of studying they are used to at their homes before they are rushed to completely new academic world (T7: 279). In this sense, learners in L2 will have no opportunity to negotiate meaning since they are in an assimilation situation, where acculturation is necessary.

As is reflected in Chapter 4 in the section on culture as a meaning-making device, language, communication and culture are all constructed through interaction (Ingule et al. 1996). According to Bourdieu (1977) and Kellas (1991), learning in one's mother tongue and of the cultural values of one's country, development and socialisation takes place in stages: through the family, school, and work place. Meanings are learnt concurrently with language with continual interaction and revision occurring. Although there are some elements that L1 shares with L2, using L2 as a medium of instruction is of necessity truncated, with many important cultural elements omitted. Learners have very few opportunities of voicing inner speech and collaborating; individuals are coerced into engaging in communicative conduits without the rich network of social support typical of the real world of learning (Morgan, 1996). It is difficult for learners in L2 to identify things like satire since they may not recognise the distortion of the original. The level of playing with and enjoying language, although it is often a key element in L1 speaker utterances, is often avoided due to the fear of inaccuracy and grammatical errors in L2.

The danger here for the foreign language user is that the belief in literal meaning (reinforced by insufficient L2 knowledge) can lead to a superficial and sometimes misleading understanding, where the cultural context of the society and the context of the individual are ignored (ibid). Schwerdtfeger (1993) talks of her own language as 'abbreviations which encompass my very personal meanings of things' (p.168) and therefore, children learning in a foreign language need to be constantly reminded

of differing idiolects or personal versions of a language within their mother tongue, giving form to idiosyncratic schemata and personal opinion.

Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956) was even more enthusiastic proponent of linguistic determinism. He claimed that a person's basic ontology is structured by language and that grammar embodies the nascent form of actual metaphysics. According to him each language is encoded with a particular mode of thought, a metaphysics that affects the speaker's experience at the level of perception. For this reason he concludes that speakers of different languages will map the world in different ways; the linguist's task is to work out the fragments of a national grammar to get a clear idea and this is done by putting the whole work into a cultural perspective.

Given the fact that language occurs within and forms part of a cultural context and that the lexical items and cognitive structures informing those items are all culturally bound, it is clear that, in order to understand language, we need to understand the culture that produced it and to which it refers. The denotative and referential aspect of language relies on an understanding of cultural norms (Widdowson, 1988, Rommetveit, 1988). And in the view of Bourdieu (1977) and Halliday (1978), both the cognitive structuring process and the language relating to these schemata have an interactive and reciprocal relationship with the cultural context in which they occur. This very interaction is the core relation between language and culture. Language occurs always in a cultural context and the values of that context will accrue to the lexical items as they are learnt.

Older teachers not only connect L1 to culture but also to other fields such as medicine and crafts. They argue that indigenous people not only have a right to preserve their way of life through their language but also through its mastery, and that they hold vital knowledge on important things like animals and plants with which they live and on which they depend for human medicine. Enshrined in their cultures and customs are also secrets of how to manage habitats and the land in environmentally friendly and sustainable ways. A respondent stated that: *much of our knowledge is passed on from generation to generations orally, in art works or in the designs of handicrafts such as baskets, rather than being*

written down. So losing a language and its cultural context is like burning a unique reference book of the natural world (T 14: 1254-1256).

In line with these respondents' views, Haarmann (1990) argues that, although theoretically speaking, items of general knowledge do not have to be learnt from other persons, they nevertheless enter the individual's range of experience during the process of learning and are transferred to the individual's mind in close association with lexical items. This argument confirms what one respondent told me that: *a Rwandan child particularly from the rural area, before learning the meaning of for instance 'gender' at school in today's sense, will have been told the differences between boys and girls from his or her parents usually from the role point of view. The school will only build on this knowledge (T3: 64-65).*

As per Haarmann (ibid), this kind of shared conceptual knowledge is embedded in the moulds of a community's language whose lexical structures cover the grid of concepts that are formed. The lexical items are the most decisive for an individual's orientation in his or her surrounding, simply because they are the bricks from which daily interaction is constructed, in addition to being the elements in which the individual's image of the world (preconceived by the collective experience of his or her speech community) concretely crystallizes (p.11).

Drawing on their experiences, older teachers such as (T2, T11, T12) argued that in Rwandan culture important items are given '**cultural labels**', that is, lexical items, which are components in specific 'Rwandan cultural macro patterns' dominating them. The idea here is that, in the lexicon of any language lexical items for some concepts e.g. '**woman**', '**man**', '**old**' intermingle with lexical items for cultural concepts e.g. '**forms of worship**', '**ways of respect**', '**ways and meanings of greeting**' to form semantic fields which associate cultural patterns in the speech community. The respondents' support of L1 in education as a cultural pillar for the community's survival is further confirmed by the fact that, since all the concepts (as indicated in Chapter 4 in the section on culture as meaning-making) which are associated with the lexical items of a language are organised in the community's collective

image about the world, they make up the patterns of community life. This is where social features such as religious beliefs and kinship predominate.

It is evident that the issue of globalisation too creates differences between older teachers and younger teachers. Older teachers are critical of globalisation in that it has very many negative effects on local cultural values through mass media: *soon all our local values will disappear and culture be extinct due to globalisation (T 14: 206)*. Guttman (1993) also disagrees with the globalisation view of sharing a similar mixture of cultures that assimilates everyone into one global culture. Here the argument is that, globalisation should not be used to destroy the local values and attachment, which are normally derived from L1 and culture. There should be a balance between global interests and local ones.

It is clear from the respondents' arguments that a theory of justice which respects individuals' rights to define and pursue happiness in their own ways should, in particular, take into consideration Rwandans' desires to continue living with others and their distinct forms of life; to go on speaking their language, adhering to their customs, passing on their traditions, and practising their traditional religions, which inform who they are and who they want to be as individuals and as a community.

Drawing on the work of McLaren (2001) as quoted by Rikowski (2001), globalisation is seen as a set of cultural processes emphasising 'global symbolic exchanges relating to values, preferences and tastes rather than material inequality and class relations' (p.4). McLaren maintains that, in this sense it refers to a 'cultural logic' that stops short of analysing the production relations that power it. The focus on market identities, relations and choices becomes ideological if underlying social relations of production are masked or avoided in the analysis.

Rikowski (2001) maintains that the powers and significance of the nation-state are eroding in the face of forces of global capital that have been let loose in the last twenty or so years (p.3). McLaren (2001) too, wonders if at all globalisation incorporates a focus on the state and explores the relationship between the local and the global and whether globalisation means the reorganisation or disappearance

of the nation-state (p.4). The argument in favour of globalisation is that local legal codes, local currencies and local habits and customs that enable the rise of capitalism now serve as constraints on capital, so that now the new transnational institutions (IMF, WHO, WB,) more suitable to the new phase of capitalism are developing (ibid). But the problem is that, these institutions are increasingly taking on world governmental roles for the interest of capital in general and transnational corporations in particular. The point is that the technological and economic trends, together with the rise of transnational institutions regulating world trade, finance, competition and investment, are seen as to be undermining the political integrity of the nation-state.

Younger teachers, too, are not blind to the fact that, there is still a need for national sovereignty. They admit that there has to be some sort of identification of community boundaries, for the purposes of cultural, taxation and state intervention in education, health and welfare and to identify legal jurisdiction, but beyond these they cannot clearly comprehend the benefits derived from emphasising the exclusivity and differences that nationalism entails. Bonefeld (1999) states that since the integration of the Eastern Bloc countries and China into the world economy, global capitalism has become a reality (p.4). One respondent stated that: *What is necessary therefore, is to strike a compromise between how much L1 is taught in schools for cultural heritage purposes and how connected Rwanda is to the rest of the world through L2* (T9: 1185) -hence the need for **tradeoffs**.

5.6. Are there any significant differences in attitude and views concerning mother tongue policy between different genders?

Whereas there are some attitudinal differences towards mother tongue between genders in the sample, the differences are minor in comparison to what is shared. As indicated in Chapter 4 respondents, both female and male had the same view that mother tongue attitude among Rwandans is influenced by social responsibility, status and division of labour. The majority of the respondents both male and female stated that:

Boys tend to acquire more vocabularies appropriate for different functions in order not to look incompetent before other elders while conducting different ceremonies, which we call 'imisango' in Kinyarwanda, which are related to weddings, burial, last funeral rites, broken families, problem solving, leadership (T7: 309) Girls tend to be with their mothers in the kitchen environment. Here they are faced with the duty of caring for the young ones, cooking, cleaning and general looking after the house (T13: 640).

From this perspective, the vocabularies for girls are those ones, which have something to do with home care since this is considered as a kind of informal education to girls. Both male and female respondents agree that traditionally, a Rwandan woman was always excluded from major oratory activities designated only for men and therefore, men's speech was far superior to women's. Therefore, boys' and girls' attitude to L1 varies according to such exposure.

A majority of the respondents were of the view that, each gender puts in more effort to learn particular vocabularies so as to cope with a given responsibility: *It is a question of division of labour and social responsibility (T9: 1161)*. This idea is reflected in Phillips et al. (1988) who have the view that, whereas men at one level seem to control and perform most political and ritual activities through public and formalised speaking and chanting, women are also involved in significant ways such as healing, and divining. And in all these cases, each activity has particular sacred words to use. As per Bigir'umwami (1969), like any other social aspect, language among Banyarwanda deals with a question of goals, with what are recognised and socially sanctioned as possible ends or purposes within a Banyarwanda society. In being socialised into a particular cultural identities involving gender, individuals learn the set of genres available to them and appropriate in terms of a particular gender identity.

Poynton (1989) also states that children learn in their earliest years about what language is for from the range of genres they know or know about. That range is taken with them into school and it plays a significant role in determining what they can make sense of, and hence make use of, from the school's repertoire of assumptions about what language is for, the range of genres it expects students to master. And the extent of that mastery in turn has far-reaching consequences for the individuals concerned: girls and boys, men and women, and for the society as a whole. So, to a certain extent, language attitude depends on the way the society allocates different roles to be played by different genders. However, one respondent observed that: *these days such specialisation of responsibility is changing rapidly since women are getting political and social status (T13: 641).*

According to Bigir'umwami (1969), the ideal Rwandan man is supposed to be a good orator and general conversationalist and is believed to have good memory: *it is a must for a Rwandan man to speak both well and often; men are encouraged to speak on all occasions, speaking being a sign of masculine intelligence and leadership (umugabo n'utanga ijambo (a true man, is a man who can be an orator) (ibid, p. 225).* An ideal Rwandan woman is quite different from an ideal Rwandan man. Where a man is supposed to be a good orator and to lead through language, a woman is supposed to be submissive and quiet. At gatherings where men do much talking, women sit together, talking in whispers or not at all. This is one of the reasons why Rwandan women see L2 as a liberating language that gives them power to express themselves. Phillips et al. (1988) comment that women's lack of involvement in debate in men's gatherings has a certain restricting influence on their rhetorical capabilities and attitude.

Similarly Poynton (1989) states that linguistic attitudes between different genders are socially constructed. This is evident through things like social approval of the writing of little girls at school who write almost exclusively about home and family, elves, and fairies, and talking animals while

their male classmates get on with the business of finding out how the world outside school and family works and produce what stories they write with twin focuses on power and violence.

This kind of attitude towards mother tongue depending on role-play, creates what the respondents called '**social responsibility**'. Upon her arrival at her husband's home, a Rwandan woman, according to Alex Kagame (1971), finds herself among strangers whether linguistically, culturally or just by being a newcomer. The members of her husband's family, particularly sisters-in-law (**baceba**), begin to assess and evaluate her character. With this well-known phenomenon, women quite often decide to keep quiet while studying their in-laws. In fact, Alex Kagame (ibid) ascertains that, traditionally, on arriving in her husband's home, a Rwandan woman is expected to sit silent and face the wall, not looking at anyone in the household directly in the face. Only after a couple of months is she allowed to speak, and then only a little. This highly influences women's speech and linguistic attitudes.

Therefore, from an ethnographic perspective, gender distinctions in mother tongue in terms of attitude and views must be seen in the context of sociological differentiation and cultural framing of which they constitute an integral aspect - they are both a reflection of and a contributor to this sociological differentiation and cultural framing. Much attention in Rwanda is focused on explicit messages exhorting men and women to confirm to their sex-role expectations (of men being orators and negotiators, of women being submissive and talking less). Everyday conversation is crucial in the construction and maintenance of social reality in terms of what is made explicit but also in terms of what is simply taken for granted.

CHAPTER: 6.CONCLUSIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This section summarises a number of aspects concerning the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. I will highlight my reflections for this study and the implications on the nature of the mother tongue curriculum in primary schools in Rwanda. The aim is to reflect and clarify the way in which these issues were found, to discuss the implications of the research and finally, to suggest some recommendations.

6.2. Overview and Reflection

The aim of this study was to find out the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum. The specific level of reference has been primary school since it is where the policy maintains that the medium of instruction should be Kinyarwanda. I collected the data, presented, analysed and interpreted it. This conclusion therefore is based on various readings, respondents' comments, as well as the government documents I read during the process of this study.

Specific questions concerning the dynamics of mother tongue policy in the Rwandan primary school curriculum were defined in Chapter 3. Within Chapter 3, the ways in which research might be conducted that would answer my research questions were discussed; and the data produced from this research was presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Looking back at the way the research was conducted; I still feel that qualitative research was the most appropriate for this work. The qualitative approach allowed me, to certain extent to enter the interviewees' inner feelings - they could speak freely.

This work started by considering the importance of L1 in an educational system and it looked at Rwanda's educational background in line with this issue. Therefore, to be fair, the former government of Rwanda (Hyabyalimana's regime) deserves credit for having put in place the policy of mother

tongue. It was argued that developing mother tongue is the only way of keeping people's culture, customs, and rituals and common national heritage. This would help in controlling and maintaining Rwandans' traditional and cultural interests, religious belief, and wisdom of the elders, music, and dance, and medicinal knowledge, all of which are transmitted through language.

It is hoped that if all Rwandan children are brought up in an environment of Kinyarwanda right from primary school, a sense of brotherhood, sisterhood, identity, cultural heritage and nationalism will be planted slowly by slowly in the minds of these youngsters. Eventually, when post-genocide Rwanda divisive slogans such as "*Abaso, Bolingo*" have ended and all nationals are seen in one picture as Rwandans regardless of one's social and political background, then, the desire for unity and reconciliation will be realised.

However, the research indicated that there are quite different and dynamic ideas concerning mother tongue policy among politicians and teachers. The findings discussed in Chapter 5 indicated that there are many different views among politicians and teachers in relation to mother tongue policy. The findings indicated, too, that, there is a strong desire to balance L1 and L2 for Rwanda to manage the present economic and globalisation needs since these issues had been not considered by the time the former government was introducing this policy.

I witnessed some extreme emotions and strong political comments from interviewees that I had to be very careful not to hurt any of my respondents. This taught me never to take for granted people's views on some sensitive issues. In fact, I felt I could have used a larger sample, involving even parents and children, to be able to examine the magnitude of Rwandans' views concerning mother tongue in education from a larger sample. I have learnt a greater deal about the importance of mother tongue, its advantages and disadvantages through this research. Having recognised the diversity of mother

tongue policy views and effects it has on the society and children, some implications and recommendations resulting from the research can be drawn.

6.3. Implications

One implication in this research is that, the issue of which language to use in education is not solely determined by cultural and political sentiments but is strongly determined and influenced by economic and global factors as well. The pedagogical aspect of any language, too, needs to be prudently analysed since there are both advantages and disadvantages in using any language. One of the most surprising findings of this research is in the way teachers outlined L2's strong advantages both academically and economically, regardless of equally strong reasons, mostly held by conservative politicians for favouring L1. Juxtaposing these findings, one clearly sees the need for what I called '**tradeoffs**', that is, policy makers and teachers have to strike a kind of compromise of how much mother tongue can be taught in schools to strengthen it while not overlooking the present need for global and economic progress.

As an emphasis on what I mean by '**tradeoffs**', looking across the arguments from both teachers and politicians, both old and young, all agree on one thing: the importance of mother tongue. But at the same time, all give a hint of the unstoppable need of economic development and international relations. So, keeping L2 as the medium of instruction is to avoid Rwanda being isolated from the rest of the world. Respondents such as T6, 9 and P11 argue that: *we have to maintain L2 as the main medium of instructions to keep abreast of what is going on elsewhere in the world*. Here three conclusive reasons are stated: firstly, western languages (French and English) are languages of academia; secondly, they are languages of scientific and technological development; thirdly, they are languages of international trade and relations.

Ironically enough, while some perceived L2 as a language of oppression, the cause for lack of nationalism, identity, inferiority and superiority complexes among Rwandans, cultural alienation and access to elite education, the vast majority of both politicians as policy makers and teachers agree on Rwanda's serious need for advanced technology, science, economic development and international trade and relations, modernisation, mobility and marketability, and hence seem to agree on the economic and social appeal of L2 as an agent for all these developments.

On the issues of nationalism, cultural heritage, and identity, Hamers and Blanc (1985) talk of the looser-than-expected ties of language and identity: 'a language may be the defining characteristic of people, in which case it is necessary to understand and speak it in order to belong to that society; but it is not always a condition of group membership' (p.157). Hamers and Blanc argue that bilingual or multilingual capacity does not equal a lack of nationalism or identity. Similarly, according to the majority of the respondents' views, with strong L2 and L1 Rwandans would experience both a strong national and international identity.

Considering the respondents' views, Rwanda needs a 'bilingual/multilingual programme' with 'partial immersion' as opposed to 'total immersion programme'. In a bilingual/multilingual partial programme, according to Hamers and Blanc (1985), a learner may study subjects in L1, and the others in L2. As some respondents indicated subjects like local history, local literature, civics and religion must be learnt in L1 since they talk about local issues. This form of partial immersion is most commonly found in maintenance bilingual/multilingual education programmes, since partial immersion programmes allocate equal time and status to both L1 and L2 (a well-known example is the Heritage Language programme in Canada) as opposed to total immersion in transitional programmes that create assimilation. In fact, quite a good number of the respondents believe that, if L1 and L2 can have equal status and time in the curriculum, then there is no problem even if children study in L2

since they would be acquiring enough L1 to make sure that the diversity of thought and culture born of mother tongue is not lost.

Cummins (1984) confirms that a large number of studies have reported that bilingual/multilingual children exhibit a greater sensitivity to linguistic meanings and may be more flexible in their thinking than are monolingual children. Most of these studies have investigated children's metalinguistic development; in other words, children's explicit knowledge about the structure and functions of language itself. Here, a bilingual/multilingual child gets more considerable practice in analysing meanings than the monolingual by knowing that there are two or more ways of saying the same thing. With a threshold level of proficiency in languages (Van Ek, 1984), children's academic and intellectual development is improved.

A further implication is that more teachers should be trained. Failure to train them means lack of coherence between documented policies and implementation strategies to improve the teaching of mother tongue by every teacher in lower primary school. According to the majority of the respondents in this study, lack of textbooks and unqualified teachers of L1 are major problems of L1 implementation. This is such an essential service that is not possible without the hand of the government. Government assistance in the provision of Kinyarwanda textbooks and organising in-service training for teachers is still lacking on a big scale.

However, we have to acknowledge that the financial, material and human resources are entirely inadequate in Rwanda, which is detrimental to the development of the mother tongue curriculum in primary schools. On the whole, there is a need for a sincere compromise between the policy makers and the teachers to balance L1 and L2 rather than aiming at the impossible. My research has pointed to the direction of social, economic, metalinguistic, academic, and intellectual benefits for bilingual/multilingual children.

Typical of any research, this research stimulated many other questions that need to be answered. This work is, to a certain extent, a preliminary to further research and with that in mind, some recommendations for potential research are suggested. The nature of my research is that it has implications and consequences not only for policy makers and teachers, but also for parents and their children. For Kinyarwanda to have a strong foundation, it should have proper and relevant documentation for reference. Specialists in Kinyarwanda should be motivated to conduct more research on how the language can be put in a proper and long lasting shape for all Rwandans.

Researchers and writers in Kinyarwanda should take it upon themselves to come up with technical words through creation or borrowing. Kinyarwanda dictionaries should be put in place to ease the understanding of the language. Simple school libraries should be built to improve the reading culture both for pupils and teachers, since it was one of the cultures highlighted by respondents as still lacking among Rwandans. Last but not the least, the policy makers should show an example to the rest of Rwandans in respecting Kinyarwanda by avoiding code switching during public functions and by not creating special schools for their children. Therefore, I found it necessary to advance the following topics for further research:

- 1.The concept of mother tongue among students in the institutions of higher learning in Rwanda.
- 2.The dynamics of English language as a new medium of instruction in Rwandan secondary schools.

6.5.SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 6

A language is normally a property of the people who speak it naturally, so much so that people who are forced to speak a language which is not theirs are condemned to frustration, to the feeling of being strangers, while at the same time, there is an economic pressure for development and a human need for international relations. Alongside the desire for an economic development through L2, the personal dignity and growth through L1 must be addressed carefully. Thus, for Rwanda to develop politically, economically and socially, there is a strong need to balance L1 and L2 in schools-‘**tradeoffs**’. In fact, balancing L1 and L2 in the Rwandan educational system means to rectify the errors that have befallen Kinyarwanda right from the colonial times. The government is therefore faced with the task of training teachers and providing all the necessary resources that it possibly can to meet the demands of a sound and modern education system.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX (i)

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL)

(MALE/FEMALE) (I tick to show which sex)

SECTION 1:INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS

1.Could you please tell me your name?

2.What are you responsible for?

3. Apart from Kinyarwanda, what other language (s) do you speak?

4.Do you like your second language? (Why?)

SECTION 11: POLITICIANS

1. Who introduced the current mother tongue policy in primary schools and why?

2. Do you have any problem expressing yourself in Kinyarwanda and if so why?

3. Do you feel proud of speaking and knowing Kinyarwanda?

5. What is your role in mother tongue policy implementation?

6. Do you think this policy is needed in Rwanda to day? Why?

7. For how long have you been in politics?.

8. When you hear about mother tongue, what comes first to your mind?

9. Did you learn Kinyarwanda at school? Tell me you think of mother tongue in primary curriculum.

10. Am I at any disadvantage if I did not study Kinyarwanda at school?

11. Some primary schools in Rwanda especially private ones tend to ignore teaching and teaching in Kinyarwanda inspite of the policy. What is experience of teaching in Kinyarwanda?

12. Is knowing Kinyarwanda fluently an advantage in terms of employment in Rwanda?

13. Should any Rwandan be worried about not speaking and writing Kinyarwanda correctly?

14. Do you think mother tongue is related in any way to:

a) Pupils' learning?

b) Pupils' identity?

c) Pupils' culture?

15. Do you think this mother tongue policy can be successful in Rwanda?

16. Is there any difference (s) in attitude and belief between women and men as far as Kinyarwanda language is concerned?

17. Some African writers like Ngugi wa thiong and Mazrui believe that pupils should learn in their mother tongue in this post-colonial era. Do you agree and how does choosing to learn in Kinyarwanda and/or English/French fit into your belief?

18. Nsubuga states that the impulse of African Education systems is to teach their children how to attain a dignified, proud, 'civilized' way of life according to European standards. Do you agree or

disagree, and how does your belief relate to primary schools teaching in French/English or Kinyarwanda?

19.Do you agree with the statement that, ‘mother tongue is the vehicle for nationalism?’(Give reasons)

20.How do you think Kinyarwanda as the mother tongue for all Rwandans can be improved?

SECTION 111: TEACHERS

1.For how long have you been teaching or did you teach?.

2.Are you fluent in Kinyarwanda? (if not why?)

3.Do you feel proud of speaking and knowing Kinyarwanda?

4 When you hear about mother tongue, what comes first to your mind?

5.Does the national university of Rwanda train teachers of Kinyarwanda?

6.Do primary schools have enough Kinyarwanda teachers, books and other materials?

7.Do you think Kinyarwanda learnt in primary schools is enough for all teachers to teach in Kinyarwanda?

8. What would you do if you had a child who is not motivated/interested in learning in Kinyarwanda?

12. How can you bring out optimistic views in pupils about mother tongue in your teaching?

13. Is there any difference (s) in attitude and belief between boys and girls as far as Kinyarwanda language is concerned?

14. Kinyarwanda is offered on both primary and secondary levels. Is the number of students who register for Kinyarwanda as their major significant? (Give reasons for your answer).

15. Being that Kinyarwanda is your first language, what are the challenges of learning in English/French?

16. It is said that primary school teachers tend to prefer teaching in English/French and not in Kinyarwanda. Why?

17. When you are teaching, is it usually in English/French or in Kinyarwanda? (Why?)

18. Do you think many pupils in Rwanda today prefer learning in French/English or Kinyarwanda? (Give reasons)

19. And when they are learning in French/English is there anything gained or lost in the process?

20. Tell me your experience of teaching pupils who are not fluent in Kinyarwanda.

21. How would you integrate pupils with no interest in Kinyarwanda with those who are interested in it?

22. Is there any problem in teaching in a language, which is not your mother tongue?

23. Would you support teaching Kinyarwanda in primary schools as a subject or as a medium of instruction?

24. Some African writers like Ngugi wa thiong and Mazrui believe that pupils should learn in their mother tongue in this post-colonial era. Do you agree and how does choosing to learn in Kinyarwanda and/or English/French fit into your belief?

25.Nsubuga states that the impulse of African Education systems is to teach their children how to attain a dignified, proud, 'civilized' way of life according to European standards. Do you agree or disagree, and how does your belief relate to primary schools teaching in French/English or Kinyarwanda?

26.Do you agree with the statement that, 'mother tongue is the vehicle for nationalism?'(Give reasons).

27.How do you think Kinyarwanda as the mother tongue for all Rwandans can be improved?

28.Have you anything else you would like to tell me or ask?

Thank you very much for your time and contribution in this Mother Tongue Policy Research Project. MURAKOZE CYANE.

T3.

1. I: Could you please tell me your name?

2. R: My name is Ndomba Benda.

3. I: What are you responsible for?

4. R: I am a teacher of English language.

5. I: A part from your mother tongue, what other language do you speak?

6. R: I speak Lingala, Swahili, French, and then English as my speciality.

7. I: Do you like your mother tongue and why?

8. R: I studied in the second language-that is French through out and it's the language that is official

which is being used for career.

9. It's a language of wide communication in which you could have access to knowledge and many

books are written in it that's why I think it is really of great importance.

10. I: For how long have you been a politician?

11. R: I started in 1972 when I graduated at the university in Rubumbashi.

12. I: Did you learn mother tongue at school? Are you fluent in your mother tongue?

13. R: Yes I did and I am fluent in my mother tongue.

14. I: Who introduced mother tongue policy and do you feel proud of speaking and knowing your

mother tongue?

15. R: It was the late president in 1970s. I feel proud because it is a language that shows who

I am however less developed it might be.

16. We say in Kinyarwanda that, akazu gatoya ewanyu batuyemu ujye ugakunda kurusha ihoteri nziza

wigeze gucumbikamu.

17. I: When you hear about your mother tongue spoken some where or hear just the word mother tongue what comes first in your mind?
18. R: There is the sense of belonging, the sense of motherhood, brother hood, the sense of fraternity, I feel linked to those who speak it.
19. I: Am I a disadvantage if I did not study it?
20. R: I don't think so, because mother tongues as a policy in Africa, the governments do not really foster the teaching of mother tongues.
21. Even those universities that teach mother tongues, most of them do it as a kind of routine and students also study mother tongue in order to have marks not for serious business.
22. There are very few linguist writings for instance dictionaries, grammar books for wider public use.
23. I: What would you do to students who are not interested in mother tongue?
24. R: What I would do is to tell them to be proud and as a linguist I know that all languages have almost the same status and they are used for different functions and the mother tongue in addition of being proud, makes part of the personality and you could lose your identity by losing your language if you don't really practice it.
25. The moment children are taught in L2 on top of that they are beaten if found speaking their mother tongue, as it is the trend in Rwanda, it belittles not only mother tongue but also us as Rwandans.
26. Once children learn to appreciate their social values through mother tongue, they become pillars and parents to the whole nation.
27. I: What is your role in mother tongue implementation as a teacher?
28. R: As a teacher, I would suggest to the government and also to the policy makers to try to insert in the program the teaching of mother tongues especially at primary school level. Also to make sure that pupils especially the young ones should start studying first of all in their mother tongue because once they start with a foreign language, there is a danger of being up rooted and they lose their identity.

29. They don't feel proud of being real Africans as such.
30. With mother tongue, people's true self clearly demonstrated.
31. That is why it is a prerequisite to teach subjects like current affairs and civics in schools, but with positive values, aims and objectives that do not entertain sectarianism.
32. This would help the citizens a lot in terms of seeing themselves as one people.
33. I: Do you think the policy studying in Kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary school is needed in Rwanda?
34. R: I should think it is a very good policy because as compared with what is happening in other countries whereby Africans who start very early with French language or English, they feel as if they have to become Europeans, they think that they should not become Africans and yet we are Africans even if we speak other languages.
35. L2 serves rather as a boundary-maker between haves and have-nots internally and the link between externally to market forces that keep the former colonies in position of dependence.
36. We should be proud of being Africans and language is one of the ways of showing or proving one's identity to the world.
37. I: Do you think mother tongue is related in any way to pupils' learning?
38. R: Yes, it can help, we've seen many students when they are studying on their own, and they usually do it in their mother tongue.
39. They revise many different branches of knowledge and explain their problems of mathematics, history etc in their mother tongue in order to understand much better.
40. A language is just a means of communication, if you could explain the things and be understood much better in the mother tongues, I don't see why they couldn't do that.
41. All learning should start from the known to the unknown. And this is a pedagogical phenomenon.
42. In this way, the chances for children to familiarise and relate concepts that are taught in mother tongue are higher than if they had to deal first with foreign language struggling with new concepts.
43. We have to know that, it is very difficult to avoid thinking and interpreting things in one's L1

because L1 carries all the aspects of social, moral, ethical or economic life.

44. Thinking that the more fluent a child is, the readier he/she is to study in L2 is an academic suicide.

45. I: Is mother tongue related in any way to pupil's identity?

46. R: Of course, it is one of the greatest badges of identity anyway.

47. That is why the Habyalimana's government constantly complained that learning in L2 had something to do with the problem of identification, the need to identify with groups of which Rwandans thought was a better group that is French and Belgians.

48. Take an example, Burundians and Southern Ugandans speak Kinyarwanda but the accent and intonation are completely different.

49. It is by the language that we cannot go wrong in knowing who you are.

50. Even the way educated and uneducated people speak their mother tongue is different.

51. So all these show you how a language can be used to identify you.

52. In: What about people's culture is it connected in any way to their mother tongue?

53. Ans: Of course it is, culture is a manifestation and actualisation of life. Everything is related to culture through things like music, which has got its roots in the mother tongues. Culturally and linguistically each word carries a particular meaning. Such words direct and shape the way people live and interpret their cultural. Social, religion and political lives.

54. For instance, whereas Rwandan women look down while greeting some one respectable or older than them, Ugandan women kneel down.

55. Whereas Japanese bow while greeting as a sign of respect, Rwandans use both hands one on top of the other as a sign of respect.

56. And overlooking this cultural need is terrible, for cultural death means the slow obliteration of oral traditions, songs, folktales, rituals, proverbs-all of which add up to an invaluable legacy to our culture as Banyarwanda.

57. I: How can you bring out optimistic views in pupils about mother tongue in your teaching?

58. Ans: Actually, I would tell students that it is sometimes good to be bilingual. If they could be

speaking many languages for different practices, that is good, and even if they have to study other languages, which are, used for wider communications and if many books could be written in these languages.

59. But they have to take their mother tongue seriously for different other functions like religion, music, family problems settlement, and writing in their own mother tongue for larger community consumption.
60. I believe some of the linguistic favours of an idea are more fully conveyed in L1 than in L2.
61. For instance if you translate some L1 proverbs or idioms into L2, the meaning becomes too dry, they lose the originality and you cannot really get the true picture.
62. I: Is there any difference in attitudes and belief between boys and girls as far as mother tongue is concerned?
63. Ans: Each sex in Africa commands particular vocabulary that suits his or her role.
64. A Rwandan child for instance particularly from rural area, before learning the meaning of for instance gender at school in today's sense, will have been told the differences between boys and girls from her or his parents usually from the role point of view.
65. The school will only build on this knowledge and vocabulary.
66. I: What are the challenges of learning in a foreign language?
67. Ans: Learning in foreign languages is more beneficial in many respects because we've got history of having been educated in those languages, many books are written in those languages and therefore the acquisition of knowledge and the access to wider world for communication is mainly in those very languages.
68. So it is very important to know those languages, other wise we would be close to ourselves since most African languages are spoken by very small groups of people and if you stick on your language, you will be completely isolated from the rest of the world.
69. What is important is to strike a compromise between how much L1 is taught in schools for cultural heritage purposes and how connected Rwanda is to the rest of the world through L2.

70. To be fair we need L2 too. For instance, already rotary club is building the first ever-modern library in Rwanda, how do you expect to network such a library to other regional and international libraries for documentation and other services if we do not have sufficient level of L2.
71. I: Some people say that teachers tend to prefer teaching in foreign languages than their mother tongues. Do you think it is true?
72. Ans: This is the case any way, because all materials for teaching are written in foreign languages and it saves time actually because in Africa each country may have more than 40 different languages and if a teacher was to teach in each language, then it could be practically impossible and less economical.
73. It is much better to use languages for wider communication in education.
74. I: When you are teaching do you feel like translating into your mother tongue?
75. Ans: Yes, and I don't see why people could not translate while teaching and some of these materials in their local languages.
76. That is why western people tend to be more knowledgeable than Africans and have a strong culture of reading since they read in their mother tongue.
77. Qn: Do you think many pupils according to your experience, would prefer to learn in their mother tongues or foreign languages?
78. Ans: I very much doubt that very many pupils would like to learn in their mother tongue.
79. Because of diversity of languages in many African countries, where so many languages are spoken, even parents advise their children to learn foreign languages to be able to get good jobs in the future, pupils prefer foreign languages.
80. This is the attitude of Africans that is why I regret that some of the African languages will gradually disappear or be strongly weakened because their owners do not want to speak them and they do not write in it.
81. Any African languages like Swahili will survive because it is widely spoken and because it has a

lot of literature and music.

82. I: And when students are learning in foreign languages is there anything gained or lost in the process?

83. R: Actually they gain knowledge because they learn science and literature in those languages.

84. On the other hand, they seem to be neglecting their roots and these roots are very important for the culture and continuation of our languages.

85. That is why we need to translate all our African work into our mother tongues.

86. I: Is there any problem in teaching a language, which is not yours?

87. Ans: Yes there are problems of teaching in foreign languages if you did not master them very well.

88. And this comes from childhood education.

89. I remember, we were always afraid to speak in L2 and were always nervous and confused when asked a question in L2 in class.

90. So it is a question of competence in a language that can make you comfortable while teaching it. This is why I do not see why one can't feel proud of teaching in a foreign language.

91. Qn: Would you support teaching a mother tongue in primary schools as a subject or as a medium of instruction?

92. Ans: Normally teaching in a primary school requires some skills and some kind of special preparation.

93. For that reason, it should be taught both as a medium of instruction and as a subject. Both policies are very important.

94. Qn: Some African writers like Ngugi wa Thiongo, Ali Mazrui believe that pupils should learn in their mother tongue in this post colonial era. Do you agree and how do you choose to learn in one's mother tongue fit into your belief?

95. Ans: This is a very good policy but I don't exclude the possibility of including a foreign language being studied as a subject because when some one's young, it's at that time, that he has got many capacities for learning foreign languages.

96. If foreign languages are learnt very late in life, it is very difficult to master them.
97. Qn: Nsubuga also states that “ the impulse of African education system” is to teach their children how to attain a dignified, proud, civilised way of life according to European standards. Do you agree or disagree?
98. Ans: I agree perfectly. The problem is that children assume that learning a language means copying even the culture and mannerism of the owner of that language.
99. This is partly true since languages come along with culture and behaviour.
100. Now due to colonial legacy and mentality all good things are associated with the western world, so pupils learn English or French in order to achieve dignity by identifying themselves with the owners of that language.
101. I: Do you agree with the statement “ mother tongue is the vehicle for nationalism”?
102. R: Of course, people identify themselves with their language, family relationships, and other relationships, belonging to a country, belonging to some group, and having the same identity through languages.
103. I: How do you think mother tongue can be improved?
104. R: Many researches should be carried out in our mother tongue, linguist departments have to explore this, because many people used to think that African languages are poor and some people still hold those kinds of thoughts that our vocabularies are very limited.
105. But there is no language, which is poor. Any language is a sort of self-contained with very many structures that could be found in any other language.
106. The question of poverty of a given language in any area is just a fake problem.
107. All languages are very rich and every language has borrowed from each other.
108. If there are shortages in certain areas, we borrow words, we could even create some, and there are many processes for creation of words.
109. In a new language this process could be put at use and create new words for any concepts.
110. I: Anything you would to ask or to be clarified?

111. R: No, I am very happy to have this interview with you.

112.

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113. I: Could you tell me your name please.

114. R: A'm James Nirere, I teach literature in English.

115. I: Apart from kinyarwanda, what other languages do you speak?

116. R: I do speak French and English and a bit of Swahili.

117. I: Do you like your second languages and why?

118. R: I like them because they are quite useful to me and to my profession because they helped me to enter into other people's culture and I like them because I do research in many languages without any problem and communication especially when it comes to contact with other people.

119. These languages help me in journalism because it is the door of any nation

120. I: How long have you been teaching?

121. R: Over thirty years I think and I have participated in journalism for five years, so I combine both teaching and journalism.

122. I: Are you fluent in kinyarwanda?

123. R: I hope so.

124. I: Do you feel proud of speaking kinyarwanda as your mother tongue and why?

125. R: Obviously before speaking French or English, one speaks the mother tongue and kinyarwanda is my mother tongue.

126. I use it at home; I use it in everyday life. I use English and French when it is necessary especially when it comes to teaching and for convenient purposes.

127. I: When you hear the word kinyarwanda what comes first to your mind?

128. R: It depends on the vicinity, when I was in Europe, Speaking kinyarwanda revealed an identity which I wanted to have or to maintain.

129. When you talk kinyarwanda, you feel a kind of pride of being what you are. It is psychological especially when you are outside.

130. Language can identify the pride of your identity.
131. I: Are you saying that mother tongue is connected in any way or related in any way to somebody's identity?
132. R: That's obvious because when you want to talk about individuals, every individual has got his mother tongue, in this case, it's kinyarwanda and it carries with it culture.
133. So the cultural background of any individual is linked certainly with what one does and it's very important for the development of the language.
134. R: What about in teaching, do you think mother tongue can be in any way helpful to the student in case we have the capacity, the material and a chance to study in our mother tongue?
135. R: There are some people who feel that since people like Arabs, Chinese, Japanese etc use their mother tongues appropriately to reduce the impact of other foreign languages, that kinyarwanda could be the same.
136. But Rwanda as you know is a very small country compared to other countries in the region. You don't lose anything by using these other languages namely French, English and Swahili because they have a kind of purpose to open Rwanda to outsiders, not to feel like they are enclosed.
137. Geographically Rwanda stands a better chance to benefit from using these languages. It's an economic point of view, a communication point of view, and a location point of view.
138. By saying that, I'm not implying that kinyarwanda should be forgotten, kinyarwanda should be taught in all our schools and must be at all levels.
139. But to use it and suppress others when you know the advantage this country has when you encourage them, would be not viable from all perspectives.
140. I: Do you think the national university of Rwanda trains enough teachers for kinyarwanda?
141. R: That remains actually to be seen and may be you can visit the national university as part of this research.
142. I: Do primary schools have enough kinyarwanda teachers, books and other materials for

teaching?

143. I: Here you are talking about curriculum, you are talking about availability of human resources in terms of teaching, and you are talking about students.

144. Let's take one by one. Students are there, curriculum yes, there are projects and plans in the curriculum development centre.

145. I think teachers are there to do that kind of work. I haven't had any problem of talking about training primary teachers in kinyarwanda, but certainly it's part of a wide programme to develop a number of teachers in secondary schools and primary schools and I suppose that could touch also kinyarwanda.

146. I: Before 1990, there was a policy of teaching in kinyarwanda for the first three years of primary schools. Do you think we still need that policy today?

147. R: That's a good question for psychologists because people tend to feel that if you teach in mother tongue pupils understand better.

148. But I don't believe in that because a child can grasp anything as long as you put it in a way that a pupil can understand.

149. I do believe that if you have used kinyarwanda, French and English and develop them as subjects, pupils are ready to grasp that.

150. Teaching everything in kinyarwanda including mathematics, I don't think it's the best way.

151. R: Going back to that policy where by you had to teach in kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary, this did not mean that everybody did kinyarwanda up to the university level, now do you think primary teachers could have enough kinyarwanda to teach all the subjects in Kinyarwanda?

152. R: I think it's assumed here that anybody who teaches in primary schools knows enough kinyarwanda but as to the real language in terms of linguistics, I don't think they have that capacity but in any case in primary, we don't go far deep into the language, you have to wait until secondary school and later at the university.

153. I: What would you do if you had a child who is not motivated or interested in learning in kinyarwanda?

154. R: It depends, if I'm a munyarwanda and I don't intend to take my child to study abroad, certainly I would encourage the child to do all the languages without exception.

155. It gives an individual a possibility and sufficient exposure and actually grows up into a full human being capable of managing his environment be it educational, economic or political.

156. One of the dangers of our past secondary education was to just keep the child within the compounds of Rwanda and not be able to go outside to prepare themselves for the future adventures and that myopic situation put this country into difficulties where we don't have teachers for specific purposes or specific courses simply because this was not planned earlier on.

157. I: What is your role in the mother tongue implementation?

158. R: I'm a delegate to the national language policy where it's expected to forge the main experience in this country, and I feel it's very useful to this country to open up possibilities for Banyarwanda to try their own luck in the world not only in Rwanda but in the region and beyond.

159. I: Do you think there is any difference in attitude and belief between boys and girls as far as mother tongue is concerned?

160. R: Yes, there. Quite often it is a question of exposure that causes that attitudinal difference. Girls are hidden from a very active part of the society-that is working as homecarers.

161. I: Now being that kinyarwanda is your mother tongue, what are the challenges of learning in the foreign language?

162. R: I see foreign languages as a stumbling block in one's early experience because they make everything sound complicated and very new.

163. They do not allow pupils to learn the way they would have learnt.

164. Children enter school, which allows them to make full use of what they already learnt-they do not begin from scratch.

165. Links with their life in the community through the years of schooling are more easily maintained than if most schools use a language different from that of the community, **especially**

for the rural children.

166. Idea development too goes and is influenced by the environment, culture and one's context.
167. Without putting these into considerations, brings the half-baked and semi-literate school leavers we usually get at the end of school life.
168. Children lose all the aims and objectives of getting the contextual framework of their social and experiential life because the foreign language has devalued such subjects.
169. Rwandan children are forced to follow western culture of literacy yet they have a stronger oral culture, typical of Banyarwanda informal education, than literacy and reading in general, typical of western education.
170. I: Some people think that primary school teachers tend to prefer teaching in English or French and not in mother tongue, what do you say about it?
171. R: I think it's a wrong assumption because when you go to our primary schools, they learn actually in kinyarwanda.
172. French, English are taught along with kinyarwanda.
173. It's very recent that English is introduced.
174. But these days there are three languages being compulsory in Rwanda and they should have the same weight.
175. Linguistically there is no uncivilized culture and there is no culture that is superior to others.
176. I: And when students are learning in French or in English are there anything gained or lost in the process?
177. R: I do believe that once the curriculum is well laid out and presented accordingly, there is nothing to lose.
178. If they are given hours in terms of importance that is, the language of instruction is given priority, and other languages become a kind of initiation or introductory, then a student is at least exposed to all the languages.
179. I: Is there any problem in teaching in language, which is not yours as a teacher?

180. R: Yes, they are there because when you are to teach modern languages, you must have qualified teachers at all levels primary, secondary and university.
181. And that is not necessarily present in this country.
182. If you want to teach any language, you must have the sufficient materials to encourage the adaptability to skills, I'm talking about, writing, listening, speaking and the situation in Rwanda as far as this problem is concerned at all levels leaves a lot to be desired.
183. I: Would you support teaching Kinyarwanda in primary schools as a subject or as a medium of instruction?
184. R: As a subject because if you teach everything including mathematics and sciences in kinyarwanda there is something you're distorting because when students finally go up to the tertiary institution, they might find it difficult to transfer knowledge from kinyarwanda to another language.
185. However, this depends also on how the curriculum is laid. If the curriculum is set in such a way that a number of hours correspond with the ability and standards of the students, it can solve the problem.
186. In 1980s, Rwanda had to teach everything in kinyarwanda because not every teacher could express him or herself in French.
187. But as a country grows now, and we have teachers who are able to develop all the languages fully, students will be able use French, English and kinyarwanda appropriately, competently and effectively and to make students understand what they are learning.
- I: African writers like Ngugi wa thiongo and Ali Mazrui believe that pupils should learn in their mother tongues in this post colonial era.
188. Do you agree and how does choosing to learn in someone's mother tongue fit into your belief?
189. R: That has its own time.
190. When Ngugi wa thiongo said this, it was part of Nationalistic and patriotic feelings held by then in Kenya.

191. He wanted language as a kind of a tool during the struggle so that Kenyans could suppress English as a symbol for colonialism.
192. That anti colonial mentality is the one, which was just behind the raising of the language issue.
193. But Ngugi himself can lead to his own confusion simply because, his, is a Kikuyu language, what will happen to other languages?
194. In other words he is saying that we subdivide the country in terms of language.
195. It is a complicated situation but coming back to Rwanda, it's very easy because in Rwanda we have only one language.
196. You can teach in that language but bearing in mind that promoting these other two languages has got an impact on Rwanda's development.
197. You see Rwanda and Burundi are unique cases in the whole continent.
198. These are people who share a common language, a common culture with few differences here and there.
199. We can talk about National language and use it in our own development.
200. But for people like Ngugi and Mazrui, I think, it is more of political motive about foreign languages that they have to be reduced to give precedence to national languages or mother tongue.
201. Even in Rwanda we have people who still think that in order to promote kinyarwanda , we have to do a way with English or French.
202. So people create arguments and reasons with their own objectives and sentiments.
I: Do you agree with the statement that mother tongue is a vehicle for nationalism?
203. R: Certainly it has. Language is sensational and emotional. It touches the carrier of the country's most sensitive element that is who you are, and this is why it's connected to our identity of what we are.
204. Language is very important and we have to make it part of the cement of our being so as to build our country.
205. R: Nsubuga also states that, the impulse of African education system is to teach their children

how to attain a dignified, proud and a civilised way of life according to European standards.

206. Do you agree or disagree with this kind of belief?
207. R: That statement itself is also a colonial mentality because right from sixties, our education tended to be colonial, to be like Europeans, to be like children of Europeans, to go to Europe to do our studies there, this means that from sixties to eighties there was that tendency.
208. But even today we still have a hang over.
209. You find some ministers sending their children to schools abroad, simply because they don't believe in our own systems of education, yet they are the ones who are supposed to frame the policy of education.
210. If ministers can be proud of taking their kids overseas, yet they are the ones write school policies at home, it causes a serious question even in patriotism terms and nationalistic terms because that means that the systems of education you are writing and leading is secondary and that is where the sons of peasants will go.
211. The government has to think about it seriously.
212. If you want a system of education that is good to all Rwandans, we have to prepare it seriously for our children to have the same standards of education and other fundamental issues.
213. You see, people are aware that one of the reasons of a partheid in South Africa was to have different citizens in the same nation using different systems of education and education programmes.
214. Back into colonised countries, you have another system of education where a few would go to very good schools and a very big number will go to poor schools and that certainly has got something to do with the future of the students.
215. They behave, appreciate life, approach life, and understand differently because they were brought up in different educational systems and programmes.
216. The power and good standard of living of the colonialists were intermingled with their

language.

217. So, as our people struggle to achieve the same standards and power, they try to speak the same language that could keep their link to the west.

218. If children are not taught in their mother tongue, they feel that, their languages are inferior vis-à-vis other languages.

219. And therefore themselves too and whoever is connected to them are inferior.

220. Because many of us had our education in L2, we are completely brain washed and indoctrinated. All our

jokes, likes and dislikes are British, French or Portuguese.

221. Values like child disciplining have been confused with child abuse and no Rwandan elite can dare discipline his or her child today.

222. But child discipline in Rwanda has never been child abuse oriented.

223. If you do not keep a stern eye on children, the consequences may be very negative.

224. Language defines the concepts used in day to day life of people.

225. It describes what we see, and clarifies what we vaguely claim to know and appreciate.

226. Take an example of my name Nirere.

227. The direct translation would be 'let God take care of him'.

228. It is symbolic of the situation in which my parents were in before I was born. Many children before me had all died.

229. I: How do you think kinyarwanda as a mother tongue can be improved?

230. R: That is for Leopold Munyakazi. I wish there were evening classes for kinyarwanda, I would be prepared to take part in it and improve our own kinyarwanda in terms of Linguistics especially we who are in languages.

231. I: Thank you very much. It has been a very interesting interview and it would be very bad if I missed this.

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692. I: We can start by telling me your names.

693. R: I'm Muhumuza Everest

694. I: What are you responsible for?

695. R: Come on, you know what I am responsible for eh?

696. I: Apart from your mother tongue, what other languages do you speak?

697. R: English and Swahili.

698. I: Do you like those other languages apart from your mother tongue and why?

699. I: Very much so because they help me, as I interact with other people. Actually I would like to learn many more languages.

700. R: For how long have you been politician?

701. R: For 20 years.

702. I: Are you fluent in your mother tongue?

703. R: Very much so.

704. I: Do you feel proud of knowing and speaking your mother tongue and Why?

705. R: Because it has much of the information to my culture.

706. I: Are you saying that your mother tongue is connected in any way to your culture?

707. R: True, because all the concepts used are actually descriptive of all that is in our culture.

708. And they actually define the concepts used. I would say, they say what I see and understand e.g. naming of children, if you talk of one's name, like I'm Muhumuza, my name is symbolic of parents' situation before I was born. A direct translation would be "relief" a relief from a problem probably they did have a boy or they had failed to have a baby generally or they had just overcome some big problem.

709. It is amazing how our cultural heritage such as dances and dress were called immoral to the benefit of western dances and dresses.
710. If I look at some of the western dances today where girls and boys hold each other almost at zero distance, then I wonder if it not immoral as well.
711. We inherited not only the western education but also their ways of life. This is why our education system today, is full of western values that come with L2.
712. Many of Rwandans are Rwandans by birth or by descent, but not in behaviour or character.
713. I: Is mother tongue connected in any way to one's identity?
714. R: Yes because, for example you cannot meet another Muhumuza in say among the Luo
715. Which means Muhumuza is restricted to Kinyarwanda only; it could have another translation in other languages but using words different from Kinyarwanda referring to the same meaning.
716. National identity and nationalism nurture the nationals' doctrines, images and sentiments about their country and themselves.
717. The mistake made by some people is to think that by demanding the recognition of our identity as Banyarwanda and our national values, we are being individualistic and racists-no, we are not. We just want our identity and nationality to be respected fully.
718. National identity is particularly suited to serving as the primary foci of identification, because it is based on belonging not accomplishment.
719. You talk of colour, but there are many people with the same colour and physical features yet coming from completely different countries.
720. I: That's very interesting, what about in terms of learning. Do you think if you had a chance of our students learning in their mother tongue, could be an advantage in any way?
721. R: It's possible, but much of the taught material could lack the very names. For example if you are teaching physics, you may not explain what a pulley is.
722. You can't call it, the Banyarwanda call it a "chehubo" but it cannot be exact. So we could

even fail to get the particular names for the apparatus we are using say in the laboratory.

723. What would you call a tube for example? You can't get that very name.
724. I: But suppose you could re-name them in mother tongue can it help?
725. R: Of course it's very difficult for countries like Uganda, Zaire, where they have got many tribes.
726. But a country like Rwanda, Lesotho, Swaziland, they can easily make it because they have one language.
727. Subjects like agriculture, those who study and practice agriculture principles even local peasants in the village could get the very words that are applicable because he will say this is such and such a weed e.g. Transplantation is called 'kurandura' or 'guteera' in Kinyarwanda.
728. It's possible to get those concepts, but not all subjects. Like those involving technology they could meet difficulty in conceptualising most of them.
729. We can teach in our mother tongue and then have enough hours to teach foreign languages for international relations. We can teach in our mother tongue and then have enough hours to teach foreign languages for international relations.
730. What we need is an education that can help us to match with an international standard. If we want to be where other people are, we have to prepare for it seriously for our children not to be the black sheep of the international community.
731. What we need is an education that can help us to match with an international standard. If we want to be where other people are, we have to prepare for it seriously for our children not to be the black sheep of the international community.
732. I: Now when you hear about mother tongue for instance you are in a different country where you don't expect to have some Banyarwanda and you hear some body say "uraho". What comes first to your mind?
733. R: That's associating that very person with you.
734. In Rwanda there are many people born from different countries, but the first difficulty here in

Rwanda is to be identified with where you came from as a returnee.

735. People easily tell where you came from basically because of the way you speak kinyarwanda of which many are not fluent.
736. So they could easily associate us with where you came from instead of Rwanda which is your country.
737. So mother tongue helps us to identify and associate with our people.
738. I: What would you do if you had a child who is not motivated in mother tongue?
739. R: It depends on what he wants to do especially when it's something to do with learning of the teacher's subjects like those who teach languages, especially if it's a medium of instruction in the school nearly all teachers tend to have students speak that language because it helps them in following the concepts because it's a medium of instruction.
740. I: There is a policy of teaching in kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary school, do you think we need that policy?
741. R: It's irrelevant to the apparent curriculum especially after lower primary school, they begin meeting subjects that are not very much related to kinyarwanda.
742. So that policy to me is not very necessary.
743. I: So are you saying that you would support teaching kinyarwanda in primary schools as a subject or as a medium of instruction?
744. R: As a subject because it is a set back to our teaching instructions here, because they do much of the translation in answering questions especially for examination purposes.
745. You would think that our students are dull when actually it is a linguistic incompetence. This problem would be exacerbated by teaching in Kinyarwanda.
746. So I feel there should be a balance of what should be taught in primary schools and then what they later on meet especially that we don't teach for Rwanda as a country.
747. We expect these people to go outside. So to have that international confidence and competence everywhere you go.

748. But if students were to be taught in Kinyarwanda, be examined in Kinyarwanda and then give enough hours to teach foreign languages and make them compulsory up to the university, then I would not mind.
749. This would avoid having half-baked graduates who cannot compete internationally.
750. There is what I call conflict of realities you find a very big friction between the language you are using and the language you are meeting especially for the examination.
751. I: Do you think there is any difference or differences in attitude and belief between boys and girls as far as mother tongue is concerned?
752. R: Very much so. The attitude is that girls know more of those concepts given that they are with their mothers.
753. They are at home with their mothers especially in the rural setting and wherever they go for marriage, they interact with and put in more effort to learn the culture of that particular family or even tribe so as to fit well in the new environment.
754. They easily cope with the environment in learning a language. Girls are beating boys in my English as a subject at school.
755. I don't know how it comes about but it's a matter of how they associate with other people.
756. Girls' language acquisition, interaction and social interaction with their mothers is higher than boys.
757. I: What are the challenges of learning in a foreign language?
758. R: First you meet the problem of translation.
759. Secondary, you may not be able to learn at a very fast pace so as to be equipped with enough language, enough concepts, the grammar, the technical language used or the grammar, grammatical structures.
760. You will find that, students are doing much of translation than understanding because of the influence of the first language acquired.
761. I: As students are learning in foreign languages, is there anything gained or lost in the process?

762. R: Not at all, there would be additional concepts from the other mother tongue and this is where they gain.

763. I: How do you integrate pupils with no interest in mother tongue with those with interest?

764. Ans: I can help them by mixing them particularly in sitting arrangement, and then give them challenging tasks. I motivate them in all ways.

765. I: Is there any problem in teaching in a language, which is not yours?

766. R: Why not? That's definite! In most cases you find that we are faced with other difficulties especially when you are teaching, you sound a foreigner to them, and the language you are teaching is foreign.

767. So all is foreign, so the attitude is low, they have a low attitude. At the end of the day you are demotivated.

768. I: Do you agree with Ngugi wa thiongo and Ali Mazrui who say that all pupils must learn in their mother tongue after independence?

769. R: The so-called independence we got did not wash away the first picture of the actual colonialism.

770. We are still living in the very fashion of colonialism. So, learning in those languages, will contribute less to the understanding of independence.

771. As long as we are dressed in the European clothes, as long as we are eating the European dishes, as long as we are following their political structures, studying in mother tongue may not mean much.

772. The worst colonialism is mental colonialism or indoctrination. We have to heal the wounds of colonialism by returning and doing things in our own way. We cannot allow being brain washed perpetually and remaining in this terrible mental colonial atmosphere.

773. From the administrative and political perspective, it is difficult to build a culture of constitutionalism in Rwanda if concepts like civil liberties, due process, independence of judiciary and habeas corpus have never been translated into Kinyarwanda accessible to ordinary citizens.

774. I: Nsubuga states that our education system tends to make our students, behave like Europeans.

Their mannerism and their behaviour, in fact you find a black man in a white man's kind of world.

So do you agree with Nsubuga?

775. R: Yes because our teaching has nothing to do with African setting.
776. There is nothing African reflected in our education. The environment these students come from is actually a true reflection of the Europeans and of the western world.
777. They live in towns, thinking is motivated by the television they watch at home, their dishes are a reflection of what westerners like, text books they read are printed by oxford, it's all English, it's all western.
778. Linguistically there is no uncivilised language and there is no culture that is superior to the other.
779. Because many of us had our education in L2, we are completely brainwashed and indoctrinated. All our jokes, likes and dislikes are British, French or Portuguese.
780. The purpose of education, I think is to add value to the person you are giving that education. And that value does not have to be European or American.
781. Rwandan customs and values cannot be maintained without the language that people understand better and appreciate to promote such valuable cultural heritage.
782. Look at the Catholic Church, however liberal the world becomes, the Catholic Church tries to keep Latin as her sacred language.
783. The fact is, language and culture are distinct but not separate.
784. I: Now do you agree that mother tongue is a vehicle for nationalism?
785. R: Yes, because I feel it brings togetherness, identity and sense of belonging. It gives that extra sense of belonging to such and such a person and we feel that we are together and united.
786. So if you are a Rwandese but you are living in Kenya or Zambia or S. Africa, supposing you are fighting a common foe at home, language can help you to come together.
787. To deny children a chance of studying in mother tongue in short is to encourage them neglect the very nation to which they belong. This very nationalism is the one that forces policy makers to

advocate mother tongue as a medium of instruction in schools particularly in primary schools to help our young people maintain their linguistic purity and sanctity.

788. Look around the world, any group of people who have lost their mother tongue or culture whether through refugee, slavery or by any other means are never satisfied. At times Rwandans in Diaspora could be forced to hide their nationality and language through using names from the local community for survival. But this did not solve the problem; in fact it worsened the situation because it made individuals gradually feel guilty of self-deception.

789. I: How can you improve or develop our mother tongue?

790. R: By encouraging pupils to use it, establish a local media, the newspapers and print as many books as possible.

791. When you read, you consume some of the concepts directly. And when you perceive a concept that has been read by your self, it's better understood than if you are to be told or to hear from other people.

792. Yet that is the culture we do not have as Africans-the reading culture.

793. I: Thank you very much..

794. Any question?

795. No please.

796.

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797. I: Could you tell me your name please?

798. R: I'm Chebesi Celestine.

799. I: What are you responsible for ?

800. R: I over see the designing and development of national curriculum.

801. R: A part from kinyarwanda which is your mother tongue, what other languages do you speak?

802. I: I speak English, Kiswahili, Luganda and a little French.

803. R: Do you like those languages and why?

804. I: Yes I do. I like them particularly because when you go outside of Rwanda, you have to communicate with other people who do not speak kinyarwanda or Kiswahili.

805. Then with English if you need to be connected to the rest of the world, for example Internet, most of the textbooks are written in English. So I find it very useful.

806. I: For how long have you been a politician?

807. R: For the last 25 years.

808. I: Are you fluent in kinyarwanda?

809. R: Not really, I speak kinyarwanda but I am not very fluent.

810. I: Do you feel proud of knowing and speaking kinyarwanda and why?

811. R: Yes, I feel proud of knowing and speaking kinyarwanda because it's my mother tongue, in addition to that, when I go to the rural areas and I meet my people, I feel happy to speak it fluently yes.

812. I: When you hear about kinyarwanda for instance when you were still in Uganda, or in another country you hear somebody speaking kinyarwanda or mentioning the word kinyarwanda, What comes first to your mind?

813. R: Before I came to Rwanda my worry was that our people might forget the language specifically in the urban centres and I always felt very proud of speaking kinyarwanda and

whenever I found people speaking kinyarwanda, I would feel proud about it.

814. Because it reminded me of my country, my people, my culture and our history which is also found in the language.

815. I: What would you do as a teacher, if you had a child who is not interested or motivated in learning in mother tongue?

816. R: What I would do is to try to explain to the child the advantages of knowing his or her mother tongue.

817. May be I would try to expose this child to the situations where that language is used.

818. If the child is in urban centre, I would try may be to arrange for them to go to rural areas where the language is spoken most of the time.

819. And I also expose them to cultural festivities where kinyarwanda is being used. So that as they grow up, they get to like the language.

820. Children imitate their teachers in the process of learning. So, the correct and professional use of L1 would help the children imitate the right way of speaking the language and consequently improving their personality.

821. L1 has an emotional and attachments that make you feel closer to your spiritual being. There is something about mother tongue, which I do not think other language can have.

822. Language is sensational and emotional. It touches the carrier of the country's most sensitive element, that is, nationalism. Because of this, language becomes so important in terms of our day-to-day associations.

823. L1 allows the participation of parents and members of the community in education as well as the participation of senior pupils in the life of the community.

824. I: There is a policy in Rwanda, that teachers should teach in kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary school, do you think that policy is necessary in Rwanda?

825. R: Yes, that policy is very necessary because if children are not taught in that language in the first three years of primary education, they might think that their language is not important

particularly now that we have got children who are born in urban centres, there is a likely hood that they might actually neglect it or think that it is not important.

826. But, kinyarwanda is as important as any other language.

827. I: What do you think is the role of a teacher in implementation of such a policy?

828. Ans: The role of teachers in implementing such a policy is to try to make the children understand the importance of kinyarwanda and at the same time, will try also to teach it effectively.

829. This will also work hand in hand with parents to make their children feel that their language should not be neglected.

830. I: If it's possible for students or pupils to learn in their mother tongue, you feel that could be of any advantage in terms of pupils learning?

831. R: Yes it's very important because most of the early experiences are connected with mother tongue.

832. So if it can be possible to learn in mother tongue for a longer period, it would make some of the concepts easily understood to the children because foreign languages make some of the concepts harder which could have been easier if you were to use mother tongue.

833. It is too difficulty for children born and bred in rural environment without any sound of English or French around them to catch up properly with their counterparts in the city schools.

834. If you were to understand lessons in foreign language, then you must be well versed in that foreign language.

835. I: Do you think mother tongue is connected in any way to some one's identity?

836. R: Yes, mother tongue is connected to pupil's identity because of the culture.

837. If you don't know your mother tongue, it means that you will not know even your culture because culture is mainly imbedded in mother tongue.

838. In Kinyarwanda we say that olulimi lwawe niyo nyawe yawe; meaning that, your mother tongue carries your national identity.

839. For instance, you cannot find my name Muhumuza (relief) in any other tribe around this region.
840. Which implies that Muhumuza is restricted or is typical of Rwandans only.
841. It could have another translation in another language but using different words from Kinyarwanda referring to the same meaning.
842. For us Banyarwanda, we naturally respect people whether foreigners or local, and this is why we do not want anyone to overlook or minimise our identity as Banyarwanda and our nation.
843. This is why a nation in Kinyarwanda is called a mother and no one can disrespect your mother and you keep quite.
844. I: How can you bring optimistic views in pupils about mother tongue?
845. R: What I could do is to emphasise on positive aspects when I'm teaching, for example if I am teaching in the class, I look at the positive aspects of our culture and then I relate it to the mother tongue teaching, so that people will get interested in learning about certain positive areas of our culture.
846. And as they get interested in these positive aspects of our culture then they will also like the mother tongue.
847. Education system must of necessity incorporate subjects that can easily promote nationalism in the curriculum.
848. It is a terrible injustice done to the country for subjects like African history, local literature, civics and local history to be taught in a foreign language.
849. Rwandans confuse technology with culture. Technology is not culture, it is science, it is universal, and it has nothing to do with say Portuguese, French or British culture.
850. Nothing African is good for young people today. For young people today, speaking mother tongue means uneducated and uncivilized.
851. Values help us to know and appreciate our societies and environment.
852. I: Is there any difference or differences in attitude and belief, between boys and girls as far as kinyarwanda is concerned?
853. R: I think girls tend to have a more positive attitude to kinyarwanda because most of the time,

they are closer to their mothers who use the language most of the time, but when you come to boys particularly the school boys and in urban centers they tend to neglect it.

854. So, girls have a better attitude towards mother tongue than boys do.

855. I: Do you think there are some challenges in learning in a language, which is not yours?

856. R: Yes, there are many challenges in using a foreign language because first of all you have to understand the language very well.

857. Secondary if you are not very good at a language, there are certain concepts you are going to lose or use them loosely.

858. That means you have to work much harder than somebody who is learning in his mother *tongue*.

859. Learners see the constant error correctness they receive from teachers as a form of being less intelligent and with this usually humiliation follows.

860. I: It is said that primary school teachers tend to prefer teaching in foreign languages rather than kinyarwanda- why?

861. R: I think primary school teachers do it because they don't understand very well the advantages of teaching in kinyarwanda.

862. So they think that may be if they teach in foreign languages they will appear more learned.

863. So may be if they are made to understand that teaching in kinyarwanda can be more advantageous to learners, I think it would be much better!

864. I: Do you support teachers who translate into kinyarwanda while teaching?

865. R: I do not because as a foreign language teacher, they must believe that if they translate into kinyarwanda children will understand the concept but, it might hinder them from learning foreign language.

866. If I was not teaching a language, I could easily translate into kinyarwanda some of the concepts.

867. I: Do you think students would prefer to learn in their mother tongue or in foreign languages?

868. R: Most of them would prefer to learn in their mother tongues especially in primary schools but when you go to high schools, they have a tendency of preferring foreign languages than mother tongue.

869. I: And when they are learning in English or French, is there anything gained or lost in the process?

870. R: As far as language is concerned, they gain in foreign languages because all the explanations are in the foreign languages but they lose in as far as understanding concepts is concerned.

871. If they are not competent in the foreign language they lose.

872. I: How do you think teachers can integrate pupils with no interest in mother tongue with those who have interest in mother tongue.

873. R: I think what they should do first of all, is to talk to those who have no interest and show them the advantages of mother tongue.

874. And after they have shown them the advantages, then bring them now to the same level.

875. I: Is there any problem in teaching in a language which is not yours?

876. R: Well because I have learnt foreign languages for many years, I don't get any problem in teaching it!

877. I: Would you support teaching kinyarwanda in primary schools as a subject or as a medium of instruction?

878. R: I prefer to teach kinyarwanda as a subject because if they just use it as a medium of instruction, they will not know it very well but if you teach it as a subject and they test it, it will be at the same level as other subjects.

879. I: People like Ngugi wa Thiongo and Ali Mazrui say that it would be much better for pupils to learn in their mother tongue especially in this post colonial era, so would you agree with them?

880. R: I would say that, in primary schools pupils can learn in their mother tongue but when they come to high schools, they should learn in foreign languages.

881. This is because after they have known their mother tongue well, which is very important, it's

also good for them to be exposed to foreign languages because we are living in an international community so that they can benefit from experiences of other countries.

882. As long as we can develop our L1, it is enough; we do not have necessarily to learn in it.

883. Sharing foreign languages particularly English is important in promoting new values, norms, feelings of trust and ownership among Rwandan workers.

884. I: For Nsubuga, also states that, our education system in Africa tend to make our students feel proud and copy the western culture and you find that young people are Africans but in form of a white man. Do you agree with him?

885. R: I would not agree with him because the only problem is that our education system is not wide enough to cover that aspect of trying to explain and promote our culture.

886. We can promote our culture and still use the foreign languages as medium of instructions in high school.

887. But when it comes to curriculum development we can include it in the curriculum to teach about our culture so that that aspect of colonial mentality can be eliminated from their minds.

888. I: Do you agree with the statement that mother tongue is a vehicle for nationalism?

889. R: Yes mother tongue can be a very good vehicle for nationalism because, once people do not understand their mother tongue, then they do not understand their culture very well, they don't understand their history and therefore, it's difficult for them to be nationalistic because they have lost a very important aspect of learning.

890. I: How do you think mother tongue can be improved.

891. R : It can be improved in very many aspects , one by teaching it in schools, two, by writing books in mother tongue, three, by writing news papers in mother tongue, four, mass media such as radio, T.v. and of course encouraging them to attend cultural festivals.

892. I: Any thing else you would like to ask me or to clarify?

893. R: No.

894. I: Thank you very much please.